B 1,177,657
805
E46

ELLIOTT MONOGRAPHS
IN THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
Edited by
EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG
19

454

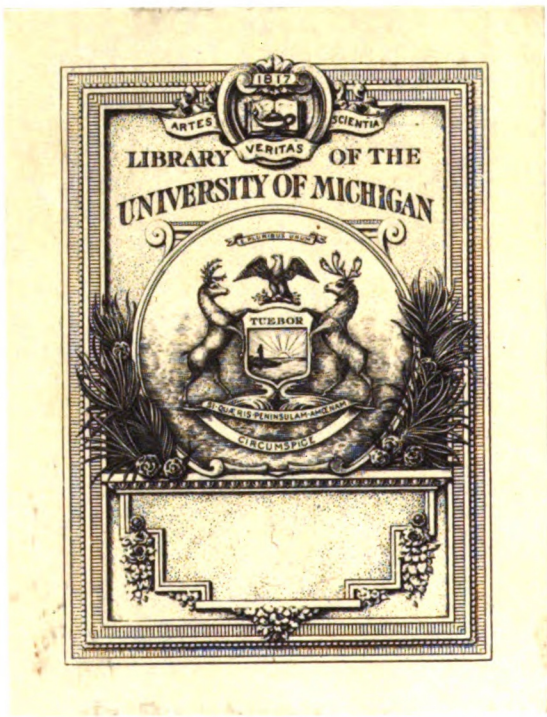
THE AUTHORSHIP
OF THE
VENGEMENT ALIXANDRE
AND OF THE
VENJANCE ALIXANDRE

BY
EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS
PRINCETON, N. J.
U. S. A.

LES PRESSES UNIVERSITAIRES
DE FRANCE
PARIS

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

805
E46

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

THE AUTHORSHIP

OF THE

VENGEMENT ALIXANDRE

AND OF THE

VENJANCE ALIXANDRE

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ELLIOTT MONOGRAPHS
IN THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
Edited by
EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG
19

THE AUTHORSHIP
OF THE
VENGEMENT ALIXANDRE
AND OF THE
VENJANCE ALIXANDRE

BY

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS
PRINCETON, N. J.
U. S. A.

LES PRESSES UNIVERSITAIRES
DE FRANCE
PARIS

1926

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

PREFACE

The present monograph has various points of contact with the treatment of the French versions of Barlaam and Josaphat which appeared as Number 10 of the Elliott Monographs. In certain instances a further consultation of source material has enabled me to supplement or modify hypotheses there offered regarding the date and personality of Gui de Cambrai, as will be seen in the pages which follow.

My preceding monograph was the subject of a comprehensive review by Professor Carl Appel, ZRPh, Vol. 45, pp. 359-66, wherein he gives a detailed resumé of my viewpoint and arguments and a dispassionate estimate of their validity. Professor Appel has earned our cordial thanks for bringing to bear upon the subject his unusual qualifications as a specialist in the Barlaam and Josaphat material. His interesting discussion leads me to preface this new monograph with a sketch of the sequence of ideas which led me to the solution that I proposed for the problem presented by the form, or rather forms, in which Gui's work has been transmitted to us.

The question of the original form of Gui de Cambrai's poem on Barlaam and Josaphat hinges upon two points: whether certain digressions now incorporated in it, four in number (4967-5033, 7080-7122, 11397-428, 12935-13280), are interpolations by some later hand; and whether the personal allusions (as to authorship, dedication, and sources for subject matter) earlier occupied the scattered positions where they are now located. We might even go farther and say that the question

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

hinges primarily upon only one of these two points: the authenticity of the four digressions; for if we should agree to eliminate them from Gui's work we are forced to relocate at some other place in the poem at least a part of the personal allusions; namely, those (13281-334) which are linked on to the end of the last of the said digressions.

Are then these digressions, all of them consisting in violent attacks on contemporary society, to be accounted interpolations? Appel, while recognizing the very real grounds for calling their validity in question, feels that conservative philologians, when obliged to choose between hypotheses and the plain black and white of a manuscript, should go slow in abandoning the substance for the shadow. With such an attitude I am in hearty accord, and so, despite the indications that these passages are spurious and despite the problems presented by the conflicts in testimony between the two manuscripts of the poem, I should have hesitated to go farther than merely to raise the question of their authenticity, had it not been for one new factor: in the section of Appel's edition which begins at line 12935 and extends to the end, such part of the text as shows any correspondence to the Latin *Historia* can no longer be accounted the work of Gui, for it is borrowed from the Anonymous Version of Barlaam and Josaphat (EM, 10, p. 24, and Chapters VII and VIII). Now this section is made up of the following portions: 1) the longest of the four digressions attacking contemporary society (12935-13280); 2) the dedication to Gilles and Marie de Marquais (13293-334), loosely linked on to the digression by a transition passage (13281-92), and followed by a summary of digression and dedication (13335-44) terminating in three lines which have the manifest wording of a preface to the whole Barlaam and Josaphat narrative; 3) a paraphrase (13345-84) of the passage (12899-934) just preceding the digression; 4) the concluding lines of the poem (13385-482), which lines we now know to be borrowed from another poem on the same subject. This fourth portion being thus eliminated from Gui's work, the third

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

portion being a connecting passage imitated from an earlier passage, the second portion seeming out of the natural place for a dedication and bearing marks in its wording of having been framed to stand at the very head of the whole narrative, and finally the connection of Gui's text with its source the *Historia* having been severed, never to be resumed, just at the point where the first and digressing portion begins, — this series of facts shows so close an interrelation as to suggest strongly that the digression shares the apocryphal character of all that follows it. This led me to examine with care all digressions of a similar character, and I found them to be clumsy interruptions of passages which otherwise follow closely the sequence of the *Historia* and which form a smooth junction if the digressions be omitted; I found further that these digressions bear marks of similarity in structure and even in wording which link them together and differentiate them from the rest of the poem (EM, 10, pp. 6-9). This cumulative evidence convinced me that some new explanation must be sought for the complexities of the manuscript tradition, and I am still of the opinion that the one which I offered is the most rational interpretation of the facts at present at our command. It is therefore worth while to list the reasons which make Appel hesitate to accept this interpretation.

1) If it was in the prologue that Gui gave his name and indicated his sources, what motive could there be which would cause a subsequent redactor to transpose this information to the body of the poem? The response is perhaps to hand when we bring together the various elements of the situation. We have a poem which was manifestly composed in a territory near the confines of Cambrésis, Artois, and Vermandois, and which we assume to have been left unfinished; we have a successor to the author who obtains access to the unfinished work and who conceives the idea of utilizing it as a vehicle for his own anathemas against contemporary society; this successor chooses the void at the end as a gap where he can readily locate his principal piece of invective; this done, he still has to find

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

a way to terminate, and has not the *Historia* at his disposition to supply the data; in his search for substitutes, he sees a way to link on the dedication more or less appropriately to his diatribe and so transfers the dedication from its place in the prologue to the end of the passage he has himself composed, tho in so doing he fails to obliterate the traces of its earlier location; thereafter he speedily brings the poem to a full stop by a brief rehash of the part of the narrative preceding his digression. Remark, however, that this procedure has left the other personal information contained in the prologue — namely, the statements regarding authorship and sources — in a state of dislocation, and in order to find a place for them the redactor removes them to two points in the interior of the poem where he thinks he has found a sufficient pretext for their inclusion. The original disjunction of the prologue, caused by the removal from it of the dedication, thus furnishes the key to the further removal from it of the author's signature. We may consider ourselves fortunate that in the recasting of the work we did not lose the record of authorship and the other personal details, tho it may have been more than a lucky chance that saved them: the linguistic similarity between the interpolated psssages and the rest of the poem, and an allusion in one of them to Vermandois (5017) suggest that the redactor may have been from the same general territory as Gui — the Cambrai, Arras, upper-Vermandois triangle; and it is therefore reasonable to suspect that the redactor still knew of Gui de Cambrai and Gilles de Marquais, perhaps even was in personal relations with a descendent of Gilles bearing the same given name and desirous that this literary monument to his family be rescued from its partly finished state and published. Thus the redactor may have had more than casual reasons for not deleting the proper names from the work.

2) If it be granted that the four above-mentioned digressions are a later addition to Gui's work, how can we know that we should limit our deleting process to them? There exist other passages having no counterpart in the Latin source and

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

extraneous to the Barlaam and Josaphat narrative: why should not these be eliminated? The most essential element in the answer has already been given in the first chapter of my previous monograph, where I discussed the characteristics of Gui as shown in his Barlaam and Josaphat. Gui is not simply a cleric engaged in translating a pious story for the edification of the faithful: this cleric is familiar with and is rather pleased to display his knowledge of the classical lore current in his day; rather pleased also to display his command of stock combat-themes and even of fashionable tricks in poetic composition. In the present monograph I shall further seek to demonstrate that our Gui is the author also of the *Vengement Alixandre*; in that case, his authorship of this latter work is evidence that he had the fullest sort of contact with the classical material then popular. Now the addenda to Gui's hagiographic narrative are almost all of them drawn, directly or thru medieval adaptations, from classic literature. A possible exception, the construction of the Tower of Babel by giants and its association with Babylon (Appel, Introduction, p. xxiv) is a direct link to the *Roman d'Alexandre*, where it is a commonplace (ed. Mich., pp. 419, 420, 446, 500), and Semiramis as the founder of Babylon (Appel, *ibid.*) appears also in the *Vengement* (10, 240-46). These items borrowed from antiquity are the sort of decoration which we should expect Gui to add to the tale, as is the battle episode (Appel, p. xxx), which takes the form of a seige of Josaphat's capital, closely paralleling the seige around which the *Vengement* centers. Nor need we have any difficulty in according to Gui the debate of the body and the soul, which he inserts after adapting it to fit the case of Josaphat. None of these addenda constitute discordant interruptions to their context as do the redactor's interpolations. Finally, the comparison in the prologue (37-59) of the present evil days with former times is not in the *Historia*, tho it might be suggested by the Latin prologue with its praise of the primitive monastic days. Since it is not out of keeping with the redactor's tone and since, at least in the form it now has

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

in the manuscript, it lacks the clearness and suave smoothness of style which characterize Gui's composition, it may quite possibly be an addition inserted by the redactor as a substitute for the portion of the prologue which he had removed; but in the absence of additional evidence to substantiate this I hesitate to conclude definitely that such is the case, for the deprecation of the present as against the good old times is a commonplace medieval literary *cliché*. Thus it is prudent to let it stand provisionally as a portion of Gui's material. I take, however, this occasion to state that there does exist one brief passage which I now count as the work of the hand which wrote the four digressions; namely, the parenthesis constituted by lines 7251-58. For my reasons see pages 13-15 of the present study.

3) Lastly, while granting that the poem has undergone a revision, may we attribute this revision not to a subsequent redactor but to Gui's own hand? It is in no way manifest that such a hypothesis would help solve the problems of the poem. That after it was first written the poem must have been tampered with seems to me indisputable; but, before I should be willing to consider attributing to Gui so clumsy a tampering, I should wish to see evidence marshaled that it is Gui whom we must hold responsible for the dislocated and generally unsatisfactory state in which all contemporary allusions in the work have come down to us.

Thus I maintain my conclusion that the Barlaam and Josaphat as we have it has undergone a substantial revision and that this revision was made by an independent redactor and not by the author himself. But as I shall present in the first chapter of the present monograph supplementary information bearing on the personality of this author, it may now be well for me to review and complete my interpretation of the processes which have resulted in the form of the poem which we have in the two manuscripts constituting the basis of Appel's edition.

Gui de Cambrai, a cleric probably attached to the monas-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

tery of Arrouaise in Artois on the border of Vermandois and of Cambrésis, composed before 1191 the *Vengement Alixandre*, a work seemingly of his own invention and serving as a sequel to the *Roman d'Alexandre*. In the last decade of the century this same Gui wrote a Barlaam and Josaphat in which he made a rather free French translation of the Latin life of these two saints, weaving into the subject matter, which readily lent itself thereto, a considerable amount of classical allusion, a battle scene after the model of the French national and antique epic, and a debate of body and soul in the popular dialogue form. If Gui carried this Barlaam and Josaphat poem thru to its conclusion, the ending became severed from it and was lost; it seems much more probable that the omission of the termination was due to Gui's being interrupted, by death or some other cause, before he was able to finish. His account breaks off after Barlaam's decease and when Josaphat is approaching the term of his own days. This interrupted narrative fell into the hands of another cleric — possibly a monk of the same monastery — who was a man of quite different mold, full of venom against the ecclesiastical, political, and social hierarchies and in whose bitterness personal reasons may have played some part (*infra*, pp. 13-15). The unfinished condition of the work suggested to him the possibility of completing it and of utilizing it at the same time as a mouthpiece for his invectives, three of which he inserted in the body of the poem, and the fourth and fiercest of which he attached at the point where the Josaphat narrative came to its premature end. To this last invective passage he joined Gui's dedication to the patrons of the work, transferring it from its prefatory location and at the same time distributing at other places in the text the remainder of the personal information contained in the preface. The same redactor then joined on, as the concluding element of the hodge-podge by which he tried to mask the gap at the end, a clumsy repetition of the Josaphat material just preceding his additions. This redaction of Gui's poem stopped at the point where manuscript P ends. A manuscript

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

of it came to the attention of some one who was acquainted with the Anonymous Barlaam and Josaphat and who, borrowing from there the account of Josaphat's death, attached it to our censorious redactor's version after having lopped off fifteen lines in order to obtain a passable junction point for the ending he supplied. His redaction is represented by C, the other manuscript which has come down to us.

The successive alterations constitute an interesting example of the processes to which a medieval literary composition was liable to be subjected, and the form of the poem as it exists in the surviving manuscripts is a curious commingling of diverse elements: a church legend versified by an author steeped in the fashionable lore of his day; this poem bent by a fervid pessimist to serve as a denunciation of the very classes of contemporary society among whom the first author had sought his audience; the resulting composition brought to a close by the addition of a passage transferred from an independent poem upon the same legend but written by a diligent and spiritual son of the Church as a work of pious devotion. It is no banal occurrence that three men of such contrasting temperaments and aims should have each made his contribution to the work as it stands today.

A study of the manuscripts of Gui de Cambrai's *Vengement Alixandre* by Dr. Bateman Edwards will appear as the next number of the Elliott Monographs, and references to it have been from time to time included in this number. Edwards' edition of the *Vengement* is nearly ready for press, and its publication, which may be expected in the course of 1927, will facilitate control of the subject matter contained in Chapter I of the present work.

The collecting of material for this monograph was greatly facilitated by the unfailing courtesy with which documents were placed at my disposal by Messrs. Omont of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Langlois of the Archives Nationales, and Besnier, Bruchet and Estienne of the Archives at Arras, Lille, and Amiens respectively.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I.	Authorship of the *Vengement Alixandre*	1
CHAPTER II.	Authorship of the *Venjance Alixandre*	26
	List of Abbreviations	52

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

CHAPTER I

AUTHORSHIP OF THE *VENGEMENT ALIXANDRE*

The author of one of the three Old-French poems on Barlaam and Josaphat names himself as Gui de Cambrai ; so likewise does the author of the continuation of the *Roman d'Alexandre* entitled *Le Vengement Alixandre.*[1] Whether the identity in name involves an identity of authorship was discussed by Paul Meyer[2] and by Appel.[3] Neither one reaches a decision, but the latter, in his later and more analytic consideration of the problem, is much less favorable to the merging of the two authors than is the former. It is this question which I propose to re-study in the present chapter, but before entering upon the subject I shall supplement my previous discussion[4] of historical data bearing upon the composition of Barlaam and Josaphat, and shall sum up and analyze all my information both regarding the Marquais family, to two of whom — Gilles and his wife Marie — the work was dedicated, and regarding Jean dean of Arras, also mentioned in the poem.

Raboldus (Rabodus, Rabodes, Rabbodo), seigneur of Marquais, appears as witness to a document drawn up between 1148 and 1167 in confirmation of the gift of a neighbor to the

1. I accept as conclusive the argument of Edwards, EM, 20, Preface, that Gui de Cambrai thus named his work, and that it is therefore different in title from *La Venjance Alixandre* of Jean le Névelon.

2. AlGr, II, p. 258.

3. *Balaham und Josaphas*, pp. XLIV-XLVII.

4. EM, 10, especially pp. 33-51. This former study was prepared at a time when I could not directly consult manuscript sources. A recent visit to France has enabled me to canvass documents in Paris and the North which have supplied items in some instances adding to or confirming and in others modifying my earlier conclusions.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

monastery of St. Nicholas d'Arrouaise.[1] In an undated confirmation by pope Urban, Raboldus himself is recorded as making a gift to the same monastery.[2] In 1172 he reappears as a witness, along with his brother Ansterus, to a property exchange between the monastery of Mont-Saint-Quentin and Pierre, castellan of Péronne ;[3] and the obituary record of this monastery (date: July 21, without year) lists him, under the name of *Raboldus, miles, dominus de Marcais*, as the donor to it of four *moiiees* of ground near Tincourt.[4] His wife Adelma died before 1174, as we learn from a document of that date by Bauduin III of Noyon confirming the possessions of the church at Doingt (dependency of Arrouaise), among which is listed a gift of Raboldus.[5] He himself died before 1178, for on October 16 of that year Rainaldus, bishop of Noyon, alludes to his burial in a confirmation of various holdings of Mont-Saint-Quentin, including the four *moiiees* of ground near Tincourt, to wit:

Elemosinam Raboldi de Marcais, qui dedit ecclesie quattuor modiatas terre apud Taiencort in districto de Bocli. Quam elemosinam filii ejus et filie in die tumulationis ipsius cum ramo et cespite super altare posuere; adjungentes etiam et cumcedentes ut, si quis in predicta terra aliquid reclameret, ad detinendam eam occurrere non subterfugerent. Quod si detinere non possent, aliam eque bonam in loco illius restituerent. In eadem quoque die unus filiorum, Gilo scilicet, campum quendam Curvam Vallem nomine, a patre olim ecclesie subtractum, reddidit. Cujus rei testes sunt Gerardus[6] et Matheus;[7]

1. CArrouaise, fo. 90: *s. Rabodis de March'*. Undated document of Raoul, count of Vermandois; Bauduin, bishop of Noyon, among witnesses. The last count of Vermandois of the name died in 1167; Bauduin II was bishop 1148-67.

2. CArrouaise, fo. 33 v°: *Rabbodo de Marcais.*

3. AD Somme 16.H.1, p. 121 (HistAbMStQuentin): *Rabodus de Marcais, Ansterus frater ejus.*

4. AD Somme 16.H.1, p. 111.

5. CArrouaise, fo. 93 v°: *Item apud Peronam .iiii. capones et unam gressonariam quam Rabodus de Marcais dedit pro anima uxoris sue Adelme in elemosina.*

6. Gérard de Marquais was a benefactor of Arrouaise (CArrouaise, fo. 31 r°); he died before 1181 (AD Somme 16.H.1, pp. 146-47, p. 152; BNPicardie, 249, fo. 239 v°).

7. Mathieu de Marquais was also a benefactor of Arrouaise (CArrouaise,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

fratres ipsius Rabodi, Rabodus Malignus, Petrus de Buisu, Petrus de Vilers et alii multi.[1]

From this passage we may perhaps assume that Raboldus was buried in the cemetary of Mont-Saint-Quentin, hard by Péronne and 10 km. distant from Marquais. From it we obtain also our first information about the successor of Raboldus as seigneur of Marquais, to whom I shall hereafter refer as Gilles I.

Gilles I de Marquais first appears, as above, before 1178. In 1180, as suzerain of Pierre de Villers, he assents to a sale made by Pierre to Arrouaise,[2] and previous to 1182 he assents to a gift to Arrouaise by his brother, Gérard de Villers.[3] In 1182 Gilles acts as witness to a gift by Philip of Flanders to the church of Saint-Vaast of Arras,[4] and in 1184 as witness to a confirmation by Philip of a gift to Arrouaise.[5] In 1190 Gilles I executes a document for which his son Gilles and his nephew Gautier, *milites*, act as witnesses.[6] We do not know the date of the death of Gilles I, but his wife, who bore the

fo. 33 r°; cf. also fo. 88 r°). Cagny (see EM, 10, p. 34) is manifestly mis taken in saying that Mathieu was *seigneur* of Marquais. (Cagny gives as his authority the Archives du Collège héraldique, a private collection of the genealogist Magny which seems after his death to have been scattered.)

1. AD Somme 16.H.1, p. 131; same text in BNPicardie, 258, fo. 4 r°. It is manifestly from this fuller statement that was drawn up the mention embodied in a confirmation by pope Alexander III, June 17, 1180 (AD Somme 16.H.76, pp. 137-38), and this is the document referred to in BNPicardie, 210, p. 156; see EM, 10, pp. 34-35, where the brief item of BNPicardie misled me into an inference that Raboldus was alive in 1178.

2. CArrouaise, fo. 70 v°: *Petrus de Vilers assensu Gilionis de Marchais domini sui.*

3. CArrouaise, fo. 70 v°. This document, following immediately the one last mentioned, records the confirmation in 1182 by bishop Frumaldus of Arras of various transfers of property to Arrouaise.

4. CStVArras, Guesnon, pp. 53-54.

5. CArrouaise, fo. 71 v°. Among the fellow-witnesses with Gilles are Gautier d'Arras and his son Guillaume, Conon de Béthune, and Hellin, seneschal of Flanders. Gilles and the other witnesses are entitled by Philip "milites nostri."

6. BNMoreau, 93, p. 28. This is the document of 1190 referred to in EM, 10, p. 35.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

name Marie, who was the mother of Gilles II, and who survived her husband, died in 1202. This information is furnished by a document of Gilles II which, apart from its importance for our present purposes, is of quite sufficient human interest to merit citation in full:

Ego Gilio, dominus de Marchais, scire volo presentes et futuros quod karissima domina et mater mea, Maria de Marchais, laborans in extremis, de meo et fratrum meorum et sororum mearum assensu, voluntate etiam et concessione nostra, vovit et in perpetuam elemosinam contulit Deo et ecclesie sancti Nicholai de Arroasia unum modium frumenti ad mensuram Perone in decima sua de Bovaincort singulis annis perpetuo circa festum sancti Remigii accipiendum et de bono et laudabili frumento sicut in eadem decima provenerit eidem ecclesie fideliter persolvendum, ad suum scilicet anniversarium in ipsa ecclesia procurandum patrisque mei et omnium nostrorum memoriam perenniter celebrandam. Ego autem ipsam elemosinam nolens minui, sed potius augeri, eidem ecclesie fratribus nichilominus in perennem elemosinam concessi ut singulis annis contra capitulum generale quod abbates ejusdem ordinis in Arroasia celebrare tenentur in meam aquam de Marchais unum piscatorem per unum diem ponant, et quicquid idem piscator ipso die acceperit habeant et in ipsius capituli necessitate expendant. Et, quoniam ego eandem elemosinam predicte matri mee mihique et omnibus propinquis meis credo non minimum coram Deo adjuturam, ipsam elemosinam presenti pagine comissam cum predictis fratribus et sororibus meis eidem ecclesie libere et absolute contuli et super altare beati Nicholai ipsam cartam propria manu tenens imposui et sigillo meo postquam confirmavi. Et dominus Petrus tunc prior Arroasie cum ceteris sacerdotibus ejusdem ecclesie coram omnibus qui exequiis jam dicte matris meo intererant omnes qui a modo ipsam elemosinam disturbabunt vel aliquo modo scienter impedient excommunicavit. Inde testes sunt: Rogerus de Moronval, Hellinus de Atrebate, avunculi nostri, Johannes li Molnais de Perona, Galterus de Sorel, Johannes major de Vilers, milites, Hugo frater meus, Robertus li Caisnes de Perona, et alii omnes sepedicte domine et matris mee exequiis assistentes.

Actum Arroasie, anno Domini M°CC° secundo, die depositionis ipsius domine et genetricis mee, cujus anima in pace requiescat. Amen.[1]

1. CArrouaise, fo. 78 v°.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The bearing of the data contained in this document, by far the most specific and enlightening which we possess regarding the Marquais family, will be considered farther on.

Gilles II de Marquais, as just seen, appears in 1190 as already an adult, and is first specified as seigneur of Marquais in 1202, at which time a brother Hugues is mentioned as still a minor.[1] As a subject of the king of France Gilles is named between 1204 and 1212, and again between 1211 and 1220, and his possessions and vassals are listed about 1220-23.[2] In 1211 he confirms a donation of Geoffroy de Cartigny, his *consanguineus*.[3] In 1215 Gilles testifies in a controversy over certain pasturage and water rights at Eterpigny, his testimony indicating that his personal recollections go back to the transfer in 1183 of Vermandois to the crown;[4] in 1219 he again testifies, this time at the royal assizes of Péronne;[5] and in 1224 he confirms a gift made by his brother Hugues to the church of Fervaques.[6] In 1227 the *official* of Noyon announces that *Egidius senior miles de Marchais* has made a sale to the Knights Templar of Eterpigny with the consent of *Agnes uxor ejus* and of *Egedius junior filius Egedii senioris*.[7] Finally, in 1231, *Gilo de Marques pater* participates in the royal expedition against Pierre Mauclerc.[8] We are reasonably safe in

1. Since he is omitted from the list of those witnesses who are called knights.

2. EM, 10, pp. 35-37.

3. BNMoreau, 115, fo. 158; cf. EM, 10, p. 35. *Consanguineus* here is presumably to be interpreted "relative on father's side" rather than "half-brother on father's side"; cf. *Thes. Ling. lat., s. v.*

4. BNMoreau, 120, fo. 148. After testimony of various witnesses had been offered regarding the usage during the dominion of the counts of Vermandois, Gui's evidence is heard: *Gilo de Marcais miles juratus dixit quod a tempore domini regis semper audivit dici*, etc.

5. BNPicardie, 245, fo. 129 v°, and BNMoreau, 126, fo. 201.

6. EM, 10, p. 35 (BNPicardie, 210, p. 156).

7. ArNat, M. 10, liasse 9, N° 23: original document with traces of seal.

8. EM, 10, pp. 37-38. — A Gilles de Marquais was later on involved in a property dispute with Mont-Saint-Quentin, but the date is diversely given as 1238 (HistAbMStQuentin: AD Somme 16.H.1, p. 248) and as 1278 (BNPicardie, 249, fo. 253, and 150, fo. 110). — The register of the Hamelet church, supposed to contain an allusion to a Gilles de Marquais

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

holding that this was still Gilles II: the Gilles of 1215 has personal memories extending back to 1183; the brother Hugues who is mentioned as a minor in 1202, who became seigneur of Villers,[1] and who still in 1224 is named as brother of the seigneur of Marquais, serves to fix the identity of Gilles up to this date; while the addition of "senior" in 1227 and of "pater" in 1231 indicates that a younger Gilles had not succeeded to the headship of the house between 1224 and 1231.

This material establishes the genealogy of the seigneurs of Marquais for well over half a century: Raboldus, 1168 at latest to 1178 at latest; Gilles I, 1178 at latest to 1202 at latest; Gilles II, 1202 at latest to 1231 or later. The material also has bearing upon the identity of the Gilles to whom Gui de Cambrai dedicated his Barlaam and Josaphat. First of all, we can definitely eliminate the hypothesis of Paul Meyer which I accepted in my previous study[2] that in the "Guillaume" who, according to Jean Le Carpentier's *Histoire de Cambrai*, was in 1228 seigneur of Marquais and whose wife was Marie we have an error of Le Carpentier for "Gilles," and that in this "Gilles," seigneur of Marquais, and his wife Marie we may have the patrons of Gui's work. The records disclose no trace that the Marquais family had any attachments to or property in Cambrai or Cambrésis, and the document of 1227 above cited shows that the wife of Gilles II was not a Marie but an Agnès. Manifestly Le Carpentier's Guillaume de Markais was not seigneur of Marquais in Vermandois. Not only so, but the fact that, at the only time we have a record, the wife of Gilles II was not named Marie leaves no concrete

of 1270 (EM, 10, p. 38), was destroyed during the war. — A modern set of analyses of documents of Mont-Saint-Quentin, BNPicardie, 150, fo. 108 v° (repeated in a chronological rearrangement of the material, *ibid.*, fo. 128 r°), mentions a Gilles de Marquais of 1305 as figuring in a property exchange with Arrouaise; that this item would have been included in records of Mont-Saint-Quentin appears doubtful, so there is probably some error involved.

1. CEvArr, Guesnon, N° 119: "Hugues de Marcais, seigneur de Villers."

2. EM, 10, pp. 38-39.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

evidence pointing to Gilles II as the patron of Barlaam and Josaphat. We now know that it is Gilles I who had as wife Marie, that she survived him, that her son Gilles II was an adult by or before 1190 so that she was probably the sole wife of Gilles I, that she died in the odor of sanctity and was interred, not at the near-by Mont-Saint-Quentin where the text of 1178 hints that old Raboldus de Marquais lay buried, but at the most important religious establishment of the region: the Augustinian Saint-Nicolas d'Arrouaise, head of twenty-six other monasteries,[1] some as far removed as Ireland and Bohemia, which lay near the highway from Péronne to Arras, south of Bapaume. Assuming that Marie was laid to rest by the side of her husband, as was doubtless the case if he died in home territory, Gilles I was likewise buried at Arrouaise. We further note that the Marquais family attested its attachment to Arrouaise by various benefactions, and that, outside of dealings with neighbors and vassals, the existing records point to contacts of this family only with the monasteries of Arrouaise and Mont-Saint-Quentin and with the cities of Péronne and Arras ; in other words, with Vermandois and Artois.

Thus it seems to be the death of Gilles I, 1202 at latest, which furnishes the *terminus ad quem* for the composition of Barlaam and Josaphat. The *terminus a quo* must be sought in the testimony of lines 6207-12 that the book was written after the death of "Jean, dean of Arras." I have therefore endeavored to control and supplement the dates given in the *Gallia Christiana* for the deans of Arras of the period. My list follows, with the chronology:

Matheus: 1181 (CChapelArr, fo. 15 r°; BNPicardie, 258, fo. 57 v°), 1182 (CChArr, Loisne, N° 63), 1183 (CMarchiennes,

1. The chapter general of all these monasteries was held at Arrouaise, as a rule annually. We may rest assured that the abbots zealously availed themselves of the right which Gilles had granted them to send, *contra capitulum generale*, a fisherman for one day's fishing in his waters.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

p. 234 and p. 238). — Balduinus: 1185 (AD Nord, 1. H. 360.3499: in a chart of bishop Pierre dated 1185 quoted in a chart of bishop Raoul dated 1219). — Johannes: 1186 July (CChArr, Loisne, N° 72, and GC, III, 364). — Petrus: 1186 (CChArr, Loisne, N° 70; CChapelArr, fo. 18 v°), 1187 (CHAvesnes, Héricourt, p. 23; BNMoreau, 90, p. 32). — Elembertus: 1188 (GC, III, 364). — Johannes: 1189 (CChArr, Loisne, N° 76), 1189 December (BNMoreau, 90, p. 50), 1190 (GC, III, 364), 1191 April 26 (CChapelArr, fo. 11 r°), 1191 May 31 (CChapelArr, fo. 31 v°), 1193 April 1 (CStAméDouai, fo. 29 r°, and BNMoreau, 95, p. 3). The "kalends of April 1193" might, by reason of the date of Easter for these two years, be April 1 of either 1193 or 1194, but the earlier date is no doubt intended, for in June 1193 we already have mention of a successor (Arambertus) in the deanship. — Arambertus: 1193 June (BNMoreau, 95, p. 14, in copy by Dom Queinsert of a chart of bishop Pierre I). — The GC (III, 364), under 1193, gives a Nicolaus as dean: *Joh. I praep. arbitralis pacificator una cum Nicolao decano ad concordiam inter ep. Petrum & cap. S. Amati Duacensis.* I have found no document mentioning Nicolaus; moreover the above-cited document of April 1, 1193, preserved in the cartulary of Saint-Amé de Douai and in the eighteenth-century copy in the Collection Moreau, is one in which provost Johannes and dean *Johannes* of the Arras chapter announce an agreement between bishop Petrus and the chapter of Saint-Amé de Douai. All signs point to this as being the document referred to in the GC, and so to the name Nicolaus as being an error of the GC for Johannes. Thus Nicolaus should in all probability be struck from the list of Arras deans. — E.: 1195 (BNMoreau, 96, p. 186). — Drogo: 1197 (GC, III, 364). — Gerardus: 1198 (GC, III, 364). — Johannes: 1198 February (CArrouaise, fo. 2 r°), and J.: 1198 (CChArr, fo. 33 v°, and CChArr, Loisne, N° 90, and GC, III, 364). — The GC (III, 364), under 1199, gives a Hugo as dean: *Hugo in instrumento an. 1199 mense Julio.* This one mention of a Hugo constitutes the sole break between the Johannes of 1198 and a Johannes attested for 1200 and the following years. The cartulary (frequently utilized by the GC) of the Arras chapter mentions a Hugo, dean of the church of Péronne in June 1199 (*mense Junio*: CChArr, Loisne, N° 91). I am disposed to consider the GC reference an inadvertence whereby Hugo dean of Péronne, appearing in the Arras cartulary and in an instrument involving the Arras chapter, was mistaken to be a Hugo dean of Arras, with an added slip of one letter in copying the name of the month. — Johannes: 1200 (CChArr, Loisne, N° 93), 1200 December (CChapelArr,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

fo. 15 v°), 1201 March (AD Nord, 1.H. 454.4073), 1201 May (CCysoing, Coussemaker, N° 62), 1201 July (CStBertin, Haigneré, N° 442), 1201 or 1202 April (CStBertin, Haigneré, N° 440), 1202 (CBrAnnay, Demarquette, p. 399), 1203 November (CStJEstrée, Richard, N° 9), 1204 February (CChArr, Loisne, N° 105), 1206 January (BNMoreau, 108, p. 43), 1206 June (BNMoreau, 108, p. 126), 1206 July 23 (CChArr, Loisne, N° 108), 1206 December (BNMoreau, 108, p. 166), 1207 November (CChArr, Loisne, N° 109), 1208 September 1 (GBerguesStW, Pruvost, I, p. 188), 1209 January (CChArr, Loisne, N° 113), 1209 July (CChArr, Loisne, N° 115), 1209 December (CChapelArr, fo. 47 r°), 1210 October (CChArr, N° 118), 1210 or 1211 April (CChapelArr, fo. 48 r°), 1211 December (BNMoreau, 115, p. 127), 1212 July 28 (AD Nord, 1. H. 416.3763), 1212 November (CChArr, Loisne, N° 122), 1213 April (AD PCalais, H. 2, fo. 82 r°), 1213 June (CChArr, Loisne, N° 126; CChArr, fo. 71 r°). In a document of 1217 bishop Raoul refers to Jean, dean in 1213, as deceased. — Bartholomeus: 1213 August 25 (AD PCalais, série G, chap. d'Arras, doc. of 1213, and CChArr, Loisne, N° 133), 1214 January (CChArr, Loisne, N° 137). Barthélemy continued as dean until 1220, when he was succeeded by Robert (1220-35) and Guillaume (1236-53). The first record of another Jean as dean is in 1257.

From these references, constituting a reasonably full chronology for the Arras deans, what inference can we draw concerning the date of our poem? We have a Jean as dean for a year or less in 1186; a second Jean from 1189 to 1193; a third in 1198, who may be identical with the Jean who held the deanship from 1200 to 1213. But even if we do not accept this identity, dean Jean of 1198 was, when Barlaam and Josaphat was composed, either still in the land of the living, or, if he was dead, too recently deceased to accord with the reference to dean Jean which Gui de Cambrai makes. Of the two other deans of the name, Jean I, 1186, was in office so short a time that Jean II, 1189-93, might seem more normally indicated. In order to be absolutely safe, let us set down 1186 as the *terminus a quo*. The reference in the poem to Jean of Arras contains a characterization worded in a way which suggests that his death is not an event fresh in the mind of the writer,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

and so some time must have elapsed after his death before the work was written, or at least before it was put in final form. On the other hand, it was composed before the death of Gilles de Marquais, and his death had preceded that of Marie, who died in 1202. In view of the double narrowing thus indicated within the extreme dates — 1186 and 1202 — we can with some confidence assign the poem to the last decade of the twelfth century.

The external and the internal evidence have an interesting point in common: alike they lead us to the monastery of Saint-Nicolas d'Arrouaise. Gilles I and Marie de Marquais, and the preceding generation of the Marquais family as well, were, we have seen, in close and friendly contact with Arrouaise, while Gui de Cambrai informs us that the Latin text made accessible to him by Jean of Arras was at some time located at this monastery. Regarding the *Historia* Gui says (6204-14):

> Jehans, uns vesques de Damas,
> Le translata molt hautement,
> Car il le sot bien vraiement.
> Et uns Jehans le nous presta;
> En Arouaise l'emprunta (*P* : l'emporta).
> Cil Jehans ert d'Arras doiiens;
> Je cuic [1] k'il ert bons crestiiens;
> Haus hom estoit, de grant nobleche
> Et de parage et de hauteche.
> L'estoire ama de Baleham;
> De Jehan vint chi par Jehan.

The conflicting testimony of the two manuscripts of Gui's work leaves us in doubt whether Jean borrowed the *Historia* from Arrouaise, or whether he carried it thither. In the latter case, the statement *en Arouaise l'emporta*, taken in conjunction with *de Jehan vint chi par Jehan*, would suggest why

1. The use of *je cuic que* followed by the indicative in no wise need be interpreted as indicating a doubt in the mind of the writer: '[God is the final judge but] to the best of my belief he was a good Christian'.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Arrouaise is mentioned: John of Arras carried the work of John of Damascus off from Arras to Arrouaise, and so by the intermediary of John of Arras the book came hither (namely, to Arrouaise). The wording would then indicate that Gui was located at Arrouaise, and this would lead us to suspect that he was a monk in the Augustinian monastery of Saint-Nicolas. Such a supposition finds confirmation in the intimate relations of Gilles de Marquais with Arrouaise, for if Gui was connected with this monastery the dedication of his poem to Gilles is fully accounted for.[1]

All efforts to follow up this clew have proven fruitless, little material having survived regarding the medieval Arrouaise. The cartulary of the monastery, outside of the names of abbots, priors, and provosts, mentions the personnel only sporadically as witnesses to documents, no Gui figuring among the few names recorded, and nothing is added in this respect by Gosse's *Histoire de l'abbaye et de l'ancienne congrégation des chanoines réguliers d'Arrouaise*.[2] Paul Meyer suggested[3] that Jean dean of Arras who "emporta" the Latin manuscript to Arrouaise may be identical with the Jean de Beaumetz who was abbot of Arrouaise from 1194 to 1196, but

1. There is unfortunately no criterion for measuring the relative value of the readings of the two manuscripts of B&J, which are derived from a common source already defective (see Appel, p. XII, and EM, 10, pp. 24–25). As between *l'emprunta* and *l'emporta*, the idea in the directly preceding *presta* could readily lead a scribe who was ignorant of the motives of Gui for introducing Arrouaise to misread an original *emporta* as *emprunta*, or even to make the alteration purposely; while *presta* would have normally served to protect a reading *emprunta* had it stood in the antecedent text.

2. Lille, 1786, 613 pp. There is a fragmentary manuscript history in Latin of the monastery, AD, PCalais, MS. N° 32, and a brief compilation in French, BNPicardie, 250, fo. 245-66, consisting chiefly of an imperfect analysis of the Arrouaise cartulary. A *Catalogue alphabétique des livres qui composent la bibliothèque d'Arrouaise* at the Archives Nationales (F. 17. A*. 18; latter part of eighteenth century, manuscript) lists 23 manuscripts, none of any interest to us. Jacques de Vitry's *Historia occidentalis* (ed. of. 1597, pp. 325-27) has a chapter "De Canonicis Arroasiae."

3. *Barlaam und Josaphat*, p. 319.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

there seems to exist no concrete evidence in support of this hypothesis.

The location and attachments of Saint-Nicolas d'Arrouaise make of it an ideal key-position for explaining the connection of the author of Barlaam and Josaphat with the two persons whose names he introduces and whom we have just discussed. It lay near the highway from Péronne (and thus from Marquais) to Arras, at a point slightly nearer to Marquais than to Arras. It lay also on the border between the provinces of Vermandois and Artois, and its possessions were particularly numerous across the line in Vermandois, so that a bond between the monastery and pious families of the local nobility of upper Vermandois is just what we should anticipate; but it belonged in the diocese of Arras, and thus its ecclesiastical connections were with the cathedral chapter of which Jean was an officer. Where could we hope to find as suitable a home for an author who utilized the good services of Jean dean of Arras to facilitate the preparation of a work dedicated to local benefactors of Saint-Nicolas?

Should we, despite the signs which point to Arrouaise as the place to which the *Historia* was transferred for Gui's use, feel impelled to seek an explanation of our problem conditioned on the possibility that in line 6208 *l'emprunta* was the original reading, then the most natural inference is that it was to Arras that Jean made the transfer, and that Gui obtained access to the volume in that city. Consultation of the accessible material regarding the clerical personnel of Arras has furnished no Gui who seems a likely candidate for the authorship, and no plausible explanation of Gui's going across into Vermandois and selecting a country squire as the person to honor in his dedication. Scattered about in various documents we find in profusion names of canons of the Arras chapter, but none of the Guis I have located seems to fit our case;[1] nor have I found any suitable Gui among names con-

1. A Gui canon is named in 1180 (CChArr, fo. 24 r°); others in 1193

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

nected with other religious establishments in Arras. Regarding a secular writer we might hope to run upon some mention in the mortuary records which compose the *Registre de la Confrérie Notre-Dame des jongleurs et bourgeois d'Arras*[1] with its thousands of names for the period beginning in 1194 and extending to 1361, but here too we find no positive testimony. In fine, if Gui de Cambrai was located at Arras the evidence therefor has not yet been brought to light.

Should it be asserted that the *de Cambrai* attached to Gui's name locates him as a citizen of Cambrai, the answer is ready to hand in the manifold occurence of such names as Jean de Beaumetz or Jean de Salisbury, where the added qualification indicates the place, not of residence, but of origin. Granting then that there is nothing in Gui's name which obliges us to domicile him in Cambrai, the evidence adduced points, in my judgement, to associating him with Arrouaise or Arras, and, as between the two, with Arrouaise rather than with Arras.

That Barlaam and Josaphat was the work of a clerk seems sufficiently clear from the general tenor of the poem, or, if any one still preserved a doubt, from the analysis of its contents and background contained in the introduction to Professor Appel's edition. To make of this clerk a respected member of the important mother-house of Arrouaise, in familiar relations with officers of the cathedral chapter, offers nothing out of keeping with the contents of his poem — unless it be with one single passage, in which the writer avows that he habitually haunts taverns and that he is the worst of perjured inebriates. This is manifestly in poor accord with the dignity of a monk of standing among his confreres, if he de-

(BNMoreau, 95, p. 3 and p. 5), 1195 (CArrouaise, fo. 72 v°), 1206 (BNMoreau, 108, p. 43); a Gui de Paris canon 1186 (AD Nord, 27. H. 16. 232) and 1188 (CChArr, fo. 33 r°); a Maître Gui 1193 (AD PCalais, H. 2, fo. 95 r°) and 1204 (CCysoing, Coussemaker, N° 63). In 1216 a Maître Gui canon acknowledges borrowing from the chapter various books of the Bible (CChArr, fo. 75 r°). In 1192 there was a Gui, *clericus* of bishop Pierre I (BNMoreau, 94, p. 88).

1. BNF, 8541. On this valuable name list see Guesnon, *Moyen Age*, 28 (1915-16), pp. 183-85.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

sires that godly persons of his acquaintance count it an honor to have their names linked with his. It is worth while to cite the passage and to consider its import. Nachor is refuting the advocates of the gods of classical antiquity. Having discussed Vulcan he takes up Bacchus. I quote the whole passage dealing with the latter (7241-58):

"Vous faites de Bacus devin,
Dites k'il est sire del vin
Por chou k'il est si bons bevere,
Et d'autrui femmes estoit lere.
Ivres estoit chascune nuit,
Ne maintenoit autre deduit,
Et occis fu ens en la fin.
Que feront cil ki boivent vin
Et si s'enivrent si souvent
Et s'en parjurent laidement?"
Et jou ki les autres encoupe
En sui keüs en plus grant coupe
Que trestout cil desqu'a Salerne,
Car mon mestier fach de taverne
Si com Bacus li dex faisoit
Que Nachor si pour vil tenoit,
Et bien prouva par quel maniere
Il n'ert pas dex, ains ert lechiere.
7259 Et d'Ercules redist Nachor...[1]

The interjected self-confession of lines 7251-58 breaks in clumsily upon the discussion and terminates with a summing-up of the part just preceding the parenthesis. There are in the text certain other parentheses extraneous to the theme which have a structural resemblance to the one just quoted and all of which contain contemporary allusions. These I have

1. The *Historia* has: "Bacchum vero inducunt deum esse, nocturnas agentem festivitates, et magistrum ebrietatis, et evellentem uxores proximorum, et furiosum et fugitivum. Novissime autem a Titanis occisus est. Si ergo Bacchus occisus non potuit semetipsum adjuvare, qui et ebriosus fuit et furiosus et fugitivus, quomodo erat deus? Herculem vero inducunt..." Lines 7241-47 follow closely the *Historia*; 7248-50 by their interrogative form and the *s'enivrent* suggest the *Historia*, and become equivalent to it if for 7248 *Que feront* the original had *Diu seront*.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

previously discussed,[1] attributing them to the redactor of the version which directly underlies our two manuscripts of Barlaam and Josaphat. To them I should unhesitatingly join this passage, which is fully in consonance with the disappointment and bitterness manifested by the reworker of the poem and which perhaps explains one of the causes of his dourness. This anonymous adder of postscripts could, moreover, without any feeling of shame interpose an avowal of disorderly life to which the author of a work manifestly destined to please ecclesiastical associates and to honor a substantial and pious family would assuredly have hesitated to attach his name. Whatever Gui's personal habits may or may not have been, we may feel confident that it is not he who posed here as the latter-day Bacchus.

Having reviewed the circumstances under which Barlaam and Josaphat, poem by an author named Gui de Cambrai, was composed, let us turn to the *Vengement Alixandre*, composed by a writer of the same name, and consider wherein the language, style, and content of the two works are similar or dissimilar, for this seems in the present instance the only available criterion for judging whether it is one author or two whose name and works are preserved.

A poem of the length of the *Vengement Alixandre* (1749 lines) with the *laisse* as its metrical form offers limited material for determining the linguistic characteristics of its author. Only thirty-five rhyme terminations occur in the seventy-five stanzas, to wit:*-a*, *-age*, *-art*, *-as*, *-al*, *-aus*, *-aut*, *-ais*, *-ant*, *-é*, *-ee*, *-er*, *-és*, *-el*, *-ent*, *-ens*, *-i*, *-ie*, *-ir*, *-ire*, *-is*, *-ise*, *-ié*, *-ier*, *-iers*, *-iés*, *-or*, *-ors*, *-oi*, *-ois*, *-on*, *-ons*, *-u*, *-ue*, *-us*.[2] To the characteristics evidenced by these rhymes the meter enables us to join a few more. I shall proceed to list the phenomena, passing over such as are found in almost every Old-French text. When a given phenomenon occurs also in the

1. EM, 10, pp. 28-30, and pp. 6-9.
2. The *-iu* of manuscripts G and I is in one of three stanzas which are a later addition to the original seventy-five.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Barlaam and Josaphat of Gui de Cambrai, I note this, usually with a page reference to the introduction to Appel's edition or to the monographs there already utilized of Krull and of Krause.[1]

Checked open *e* rhymes only with itself and not with *ié*, 12, 35. (It occurs in rhyme only in the termination *-el*, but this would readily furnish opportunity for *ié* rhymes such as *ciel*, *fiel*, *giel*, *miel*.) Similarly in B&J there is no mixing of the two sounds in rhyme (Appel LXVIII, Krause 23, Krull 15). B&J further shows checked open *e* in rhyme with *ai* in the almost universal *maistre-estre* combination; outside of this word-pair there are only two instances in the whole of the long poem of the union of the two sounds (*pres-palais* 825-26, *apres-palais* 11735-36). Since the *Vengement* has for checked open *e* only the two stanzas in *-el*, and for *-ai* only *-ais* of stanza 2, there was no opportunity for *ai* to appear in an *e* rhyme, and at least a fair chance that no *e* rhyme would slip into the series of twenty rhyme words of stanza 2, so that we need not be surprised at finding only pure *ai* rhymes in this stanza. Thus the two poems show identical treatment of checked *e* (with no sign in rhyme of the northern *aniel*, *biel*, *oisiel*, etc., common enough as a scribal form in both B&J and the *Vengement*), and also show what amounts to identical treatment of *ai*.

Checked nasal *a* and *e* are kept separate. For *a* there are three stanzas in *-ant* totaling 74 rhymes, and for *e* five stanzas in *-ent* with 137 rhymes and two stanzas in *-ens* with 51 rhymes. B&J likewise maintains the distinction between the two sounds. Both poems show the well known crossing in individual instances between the *an* and the *en*. In B&J it comes up for *dolent-dolant* and *tens-tans* (Appel LX). In the *Vengement* it occurs for *dolent-dolant*, *escient-esciant*, *noient-noiant*, perhaps for *talent-talant* (*talant* appears only in

1. Albert Krull, *Gui de Cambrai*, Cassel, 1887; Arnold Krause, *Zum Barlaam und Josaphat des Gui de Cambrai*, Teil I, Berlin, 1899. — In the allusions to the *Vengement* black-letter figures have reference to stanzas, ordinary roman figures to lines.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

405 and is there not in the best manuscript, H), in all of which the double forms belong to stock poetic language; we also find *luisant* and probably once *luisent* 72 (1644; not in H), *vaillant* and probably once *vaillent* 59 (1353; unless the reading of H *sachent* be accepted, in which case we have instead the doublet *sachant-sachent*), and finally *vivent* 3 (61) for *vivant*.[1] The monograph of Gertrud Wacker[2] has emphasized the frequency in rhyme of such doublets, and has pointed out that poets who in the main separate *en* from *an* let the extent of their consistency in this respect be determined largely by the exigencies of rhyme. The difficulty in securing an adequate supply of words for the long series of successive rhymes in the *Vengement* is far greater than for the rhyme couplets of B&J, so it is natural that in the above-noted three instances of doublets other than stock cases the author of the *Vengement* allowed himself a liberty for which he had abundant precedent in the *Roman d'Alexandre*.[3]

Words in *-els, -elt* rhyme with *-als, -alt: solaus* 46 (1066), *consaut* 41 (988). So B&J (Appel LXI). — Rhymes in *ié* are, as in B&J, kept separate from rhymes in *e* representing Latin *a*.[4] — The reduced form *-ie* for *-iee* is absent from the fifty-five rhymes in *-ie* 7, 57, just as it can not be demonstrated for B&J (Appel LVIII and note 3).[5] — The termination *-ise* is

1. The *cravent* in 45 (1063) is a standard Old-French form. The *aidens* 17 (480) and the *isnelemant* 29 (758) attributed (Appel XLVII) to the *Vengement* are in manuscript G only and do not belong to the original text.

2. *Ueber das Verhältnis von Dialekt und Schriftsprache*, Halle, 1916, pp. 49-52. Wacker is in error in claiming that *commant—tant* in B&J is an *-ent, -ant* rhyme. In the only place where this combination occurs (6033-34), *commant* is the verbal substantive from *commander*.

3. The rhymes in *-ent, -ant* of the Michelant edition show manifold instances of hesitation, including two of the very words in question: *luisent* 83, 30, and *vaillent* 97, 19.

4. *Amistié* 44 (1035) occurs also as *amisté* 56 (1254). B&J has only *amistié* (262, etc.). For *irié* 44 (1024) B&J has *irié* (8335, 12369, 12781) and *iré* (Appel LXI). To *pitié* 44 (1040) corresponds B&J *pitié* (Appel LXI).

5. The rhymes of B&J 4117-20, written in the manuscripts *apparillie —despoillie—porrie—vie*, supply some confirmation that Gui used the full form *-iee*; for if, despite his careful separation in rhyme of *-iee*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

standard: *covertise*, *devise*, *gentilise*, *maistrise* 52. So in B&J (Krull 11, Krause 11: *commandise*, *convoitise*, *juise*, *servise;* and 5019: *devise*).

Latin free close *e* has passed to *oi* 25, 37, as in B&J (Krull 19). — The *-or* out of checked close *o* (*destor*, *estor*, *jor*, *retor*, *secor*, *sojor*, *tor*) rhymes with the *-or* out of free close *o* 5, 22, 50, 63, 74. So B&J (Appel LXI, who classes this preservation of *o* free as "bemerkenswert").

The equivalence of *s* and *z* is complete in the *Vengement* 2, 6, 10, 21, 24, 36, 37, 48, 60, just as it is in B&J (Appel LVII).

Case flection of nouns and adjectives is carefully observed. So B&J (Appel LXIV). — Masculine substantives of Class II (*pere*, etc.) have no *-s* in the nominative. So B&J, save that sporadically an *-s* appears before a vowel in the body of the lines (Appel LXV). — The nominative of *homme* does not occur in rhyme; Appel (XLVII) adduces *hons* from stanza 10, but the line is only in G and does not belong to the original. — Feminine substantives of Class II (*maisons*, etc.) have *-s*. So B&J (Appel LXV). — The feminine of adjectives of Class II has not assumed an *-e* save *grande* in 7 (177) and perhaps in 39 (950) and 38 (920); elsewhere *grant*. So B&J (Appel LXVI: *grande* twice). — The neuter of adjectives has no *-s* 31 (797) and 73 (1691). So B&J (3454, 7951, etc.). — For the possessive adjective the Picard forms *nos*, *no*, *vos*, *vo* are well assured 25 (666), 62 (1427), 7 (177), 14 (407), 10 (264), 59 (1355), etc.; by the side of *nostre* and *vostre* 58 (1309), 28 (748). So B&J (Appel LXVI, Krull 34, Krause 18). — The form *li* for the nominative singular feminine of the article is three times supported by the meter: *li aighe* 12 (341), *li asanlee* 18 (496), *li espee* 35 (873); the meter elsewhere supports the elided form: *l'aighe* 13 (369), etc. In B&J, manuscript C supports *li une* 3404, 3407, and *li autre* 3410.— The elided nominative of the relative pronoun is found before *est* in 10 (234); of the interrogative pro-

from *-ie*, we should grant that he wrote and pronounced *-iee* as *-ie*, we should have in 4117-20 the unusual phenomenon of successive couplets with identical rhyme.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

noun in 59 (1345). So B&J for relative (Appel LXVI), and similar instance for interrogative (Appel LXXII).

In verbs the first singular indicative I has no *-e: devis* 6 (154), 10 (251), 60 (1383). So normally B&J (Appel LXVII). Similarly the singular subjunctive I lacks the *-e: gart* 33 (840), *aut* 41 (986), *consaut* 41 (988). So B&J (Appel LXVII). — The first plural shows in rhyme *-ons* 13 (363, 379, 382, 386, 387, 388, 390), and *-on* 43 (1015), 66 (1523, 1524, 1526); the meter indicates *-omes* in 18 (514), probably in 25 (665), and possibly in 7 (180). B&J shows *-ons* (Krull 35), *-on* in 3826, and sporadically *-omes* (Appel LIX).— The first plural imperfect and conditional *-iens* shows monosyllabic *ie* in 56 (1260 and 1261); the manuscript testimony is not decisive for 9 (213), 14 (419), and 25 (670). Note that the form in rhyme is *-ions* 13 (384). The second plural *-iés* of these tenses is monosyllabic in 10 (267) and probably in 12 (354). In B&J the first and second plural of these tenses do not occur in rhyme (Krause 18); out of rhyme they have the monosyllabic forms (Appel LIV, LIX).— As in B&J (Appel LXVI) the future with *e* inserted between a consonant and *r* is frequent by the side of the normal forms: *averai* 53 (1220), *oinderai* 74 (1708), *penderai* 66 (1526), *perderai* 21 (579), *prenderai* 66 (1525), *renderai* 22 (604).— B&J has *veoir* and *veïr* (Appel LX); in the *Vengement* the form can not be determined, as there are no stanzas with the *-oir* rhyme and as there are no *-oir* infinitives among the fifteen *-ir* rhymes of 42.— The subjunctive is used in the subordinate clause of comparisons of inequality 10 (235). So B&J (Appel LIX).

In the *Vengement*, by far the most common way of expressing the idea 'Greek' is by a dissylabic form, usually with the spelling *Grigois* or *Griiois*, which comes up only once in rhyme 37 (919)[1] but which occurs frequently in the body of the lines and which corresponds to the *Grigois* employed in B&J (Appel XLVII). As monosyllable, in the place of the *Griu*

1. As a rhyme form, *Griior* is also used 22 (606 : Ms. H *grignor*), 50 (1157).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

of B&J the author of the *Vengement* uses as rhyme form *Gri* 6 (136), 10 (241), 23 (625), 51 (1189); in this he follows, as he commonly does in the models for his proper names, the *Roman d'Alexandre*, which employs *Gri* as its monosyllabic rhyme form; cf. Michelant edition, 246, 2; 254, 15; 302, 12; 399, 36; 410, 11; 484, 24; 536, 20; etc.

The very title *Vengement Alixandre* contains a word-form absent from the vocabulary of B&J, which has only *venjanche*; but here again the *Vengement* cleaves to the *Roman d'Alexandre*, which as a rhyme word uses *vengement* more frequently than *venjance*; cf. 51, 17; 94, 13; 437, 23; 441, 25; 478, 34.

If my belief is justified that I have adduced in the foregoing paragraphs all pertinent linguistic phenomena of the texts in question, it is manifest that in the language of Barlaam and Josaphat and the *Vengement* there is nothing to indicate the hand of two different authors. Let us see whether testimony pro or con can be gathered from a comparison of phraseology, subject matter, and style.

The similarity in content of the two passages which follow has been noted by Professor Appel (p. XLIV):

Quant guerre a el païs, povre en ont le pior. (*Vengement*, 5: 131)

Les povres gens tous jors comperent
Çou que les rices gens mesfont. (B&J, 10125-26)

In both cases the reflection is suggested by the evils of war, and the resemblance would be decidedly significant could we adduce other parallels equally marked; but the second passage cited by Appel from the *Vengement*,[1] where the degeneracy of the present day is contrasted with the good old times, is, as he says, too commonplace to be significant. Not only so, but I have already[2] given reasons for holding that the passages in Barlaam and Josaphat which offer parallels to

1. Stanza 10 (255-78).
2. EM, 10, pp. 6-9, pp. 28-29.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

this time-worn complaint should be considered interpolations in Gui's work by a later hand.[1] I also agree with Appel (p. XLV) that small consideration need be given to the vague similarity in type between the digression in stanza 54 of the *Vengement*, recounting Philip of Macedon's temporary marriage with Cleopatras, and some of the digressions in Barlaam and Josaphat. The passage in the *Vengement* was suggested by and is a summary of the story as given in the *Roman d'Alexandre* (ed. Mich., pp. 49-52).

The author of Barlaam and Josaphat shows an excessive predilection for *vers équivoqués* and *rimes equivoquées*, and also employs such similar stylistic tricks as antithesis and anaphora (Appel LII-LIII). These features, as well as certain less frequent stylistic traits noted by Appel, are absent from the *Vengement*. The date of the two works being nearly the same, Paul Meyer's explanation [2] of this divergence as due to time-difference is valueless. It is also superfluous: in Barlaam and Josaphat Gui is using a verse form employed in the lighter literature of the time, and he is evidently seeking the ear of an aristocratic audience. [3] It was therefore natural enough that he adopt embellishments for which he found precedents in many courtly poems. The *Vengement*, on the other hand, had its characteristics predetermined not simply by the canons of ten-syllable verse, but very specifically by the poem of which it was a continuation. Were its stylistic features those of Gui's Barlaam and Josaphat rather than of the *Roman d'Alexandre*, we should even have ground for surprise.

A real parallelism between the works is to be found in their authors' background. To select as theme a continuation of the Alexander epic indicates in itself a leaning to classical

1. Furthermore, Edwards (EM, 20, pp. 39-40) questions the authenticity of the lines of the *Vengement* (255-87) which embrace this passage.
2. AlGr, II, p. 258.
3. See EM, 10, pp. 4-5.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

antiquity, and in keeping with this the *Vengement* draws all additions to the basal narrative from medieval lore regarding ancient times. Naturally their immediate source is regularly the *Roman d'Alexandre*; as material not derived therefrom I note only a reference to Dionysus and Semiramis, wherein personages of the *Vengement* are annexed to the families of Dionysus and Semiramis, seemingly as an excuse to display familiarity with the link between Dionysus and the vine and between Semiramis and Babylon.[1] In Barlaam and Josaphat Semiramis is introduced in the same way and for the same purpose.[2] The theme of Barlaam and Josaphat is not selected from classical material, the subject seeming to have been suggested by a church dignitary and the work to have been intended primarily to meet the likings of a pious elderly

1. *Vengement* 10 (240-46):

> Andoi li baceler dont jou devant vous dis
> Estoient né d'Athenes, c'est en le tiere as Gris;
> Haut homme et vallant erent, parent a cel Denis
> Qui le vigne planta premerains el païs,—
> Rois estoit de la tiere et soie estoit li cis,—
> Et furent del lignage celi Samiramis
> Qui fist de Babilone les murs d'araine bis.

2. In the battle with Avenir Barlaam's warriors overcome the king of the Coine,

> Et Miraduel de Babiloine,
> Qui fiux estoit Samiramis.
> (L'estoires dist et li escris
> Que çou fu cele voirement
> Qui estora premierement
> Babiloine la daerainne;
> Jo ne di pas: la premerainne,
> Car li gaiant la grant tor fisent,
> Qui de folie s'entremisent,
> Car Deu voloient gueroier...
> Icele tor par droit apel
> Noment par son droit nom: Babel;
> Et de Babel vint Babiloine.)
> Cil Miradeus et cil del Coine
> Laisent l'estor et la bataille. (10370-79, 10385-89)

Note that in the *Roman d'Alexandre* the Tower of Babel figures as the architectural feature of Babylon, usually with the added qualification *que firent li gaiant* (419, 16; 420, 26) or *que li gaiant fremerent* (446, 29).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

country gentleman and his wife.[1] Thus the choice of a religiously edifying theme was probably due to adventitious causes. This lends the more significance to the fact that in the numerous instances in which Gui quits a close imitation of his Latin original it is almost invariably[2] in order to interject items and personages permitting a display of acquaintance with ancient history and mythology.[3] While the added material is not of this type in the case of the episode of Avenir's war against Barlaam (9801-11174), it is at least thorolly secular, so much so that it conflicts with the moral lesson of the Barlaam story, and it is modeled on the contests in the *romans d'antiquité* and the *chansons de geste*.[4] Avenir's siege of Barlaam's capital contains the same commonplaces of attack and battle as appear in the *Vengement* siege of Arondel.

Appel (p. XLVI) considers it surprising, if the two poems are by the same author, that in Barlaam and Josaphat there is not so much as a mention of Alexander's name. But Alexander did not adapt himself well to the theme of the poem. The only portion of the work in which we might reasonably anticipate his appearance is the debate between the pagan philosophers and Nachor, where it would have been of dubious aid to the Christian argument to call to mind the towering figure of the great pagan, medieval exemplar of generosity and courtesy, of whom Gui says in the *Vengement*:

> Assés fu plus vaillans que Carlemaine d'Ais
> Se il eüst esté vers Deu simples et vrais. (33-34)

1. See 6207-14 and EM, 10, p. 44.

2. The one instance of a substantial addition of a religious character is the introduction of the debate of body and soul so widely current, in one form or another, in medieval literature; see Th. Batiouchkoff, *Rom.*, 20 (1891), pp. 1-55 and 513-78.

3. There is no need to review this ground, which has been covered by Appel in his discussion of sources (pp. XIII-XXV).

4. In stanza 57 of the *Vengement* there occurs what may be a distant echo of the national epic: Calnus designates Aristote to go as messenger to Philiparideus and Calnus resents the choice. This calls up Roland's designation of Ganelon as messenger to Marsile, but circumstances and outcome are different, and the connection, if it exists, is not direct but rather thru the intermediary of two passages in the *Roman d'Alexandre* (Mich., pp. 98-99 and 404-05).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

In each of the poems the author had models before him which freed him from any large demands upon his invention and which at the same time decreased the occasion for disclosing a personal touch. While in a sense the *Vengement*, not being a translation, could offer in these two respects freer play, yet the stage was all set by the tradition of the massive Alexander compilation which had preceded, and the little which this did not supply was readily suggested by the stereotyped patterns of battle and seige of the *chansons de geste*. The dedications are therefore about the only sections where we might anticipate finding traces of the independent working of the author's mind. Now in the dedications there are certain similarities. In each instance two patrons, and two patrons of the same family, were selected,— husband and wife for the religious poem, brothers for the Alexander theme, — and the same formula is used in introducing their names: *Por Gillon... est ceste estoire commencie.* — *Ces vers ai commenciés por le conte... qui tient quite Clermont.* An author preparing the dedications of two successive works would naturally not have forgotten the first when writing the second. Even a writer showing no great signs of originality would, however, scarcely go to extremes of self-imitation in his dedications, so that the present resemblance is just about the maximum which we might anticipate, given the differing circumstances and the differing verse forms.

The *Vengement* is dedicated to the Count of Clermont and his brother Simon. Raoul, count of Clermont, took the cross in 1190 and died in 1191 at the seige of Acre, whereupon the county fell to his daughter's husband, Count Louis of Blois. Raoul's brother Simon, seigneur of Ailly-sur-Noie (Somme) and of the near-by Tartigny (Oise) survived him.[1] Thus the *Vengement* was written before 1191 — how much before we can not tell, for our sole fixed *terminus a quo* is Raoul's

1. Paul Meyer, AlGr, II, pp. 256-57, and the works of Luçay and Lépinois there cited. In a chart of 1162 Simon already appears as consenting to a gift by his brother Raoul count of Clermont (CNDOurscamp, Peigné-Delacourt, N° 262).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

accession in 1156, which is far earlier than is at all probable for a continuation of the Alexander. As regards relative dates, it is reasonably safe to assume that Barlaam and Josaphat, composed in the last decade of the century. — or, if we accord the widest possible range, between 1186 and 1202, — is later than the *Vengement*. But the gap may be slight, and in any event both poems belong to the latter part of the twelfth century. Thus the necessarily large interval hitherto supposed to exist between them vanishes, and with it such opposition as a wide gap in time might offer to identity of authorship.

That in the dedication of the *Vengement* the name of the less prominent and influential Simon d'Ailly is introduced by the side of that of Count Raoul suggests that it was he who constituted the link between Gui and the more illustrious brother. Nothing in the character or the habitat of the two sets of patrons conflicts with a hypothesis of common authorship, and in so far as we lean to Simon as the person who occasioned the choice of patrons for the *Vengement* we have an additional parallelism between the poems, both being associated with Picard vavasors and their families.

We are now ready to sum up the evidence. Barlaam and Josaphat was composed between 1186 and 1202 by a Gui de Cambrai, was dedicated to a Picard vavasor and his wife, and contains allusions which associate its author with the diocese of Arras and particularly with the important Saint-Nicolas d'Arrouaise, lying on the border of Picardy. The *Vengement Alixandre* was composed before— probably not much before— 1191 by a Gui de Cambrai, and was dedicated to a Picard vavasor and his more prominent brother. In the two works there are no linguistic traits which point to diversity of authorship. There is abundant explanation in their dissimilar antecedent models for all stylistic differences. Both works exhibit a pronounced predilection for the medieval stores of ancient history and mythology.

Short of a positive declaration of identity in one or the other of the poems, we could hardly expect more.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

CHAPTER II

AUTHORSHIP OF THE *VENJANCE ALIXANDRE*

Before entering upon the question of the authorship of the *Venjance Alixandre*, it is desirable to see whether the speech of the poem furnishes any indications regarding the man who composed it. The language of the *Venjance* was studied by Sachrow in his doctoral dissertation,[1] and this study was amended and supplemented in a review by Walberg[2] of Sachrow's dissertation and of Schultz-Gora's edition.[3] Having himself planned to edit the work, Professor Walberg manifests a first-hand command of the material unusual in the review of so specialized a theme, and his discussion makes it superfluous to canvass the details, so that I use his review and the two works therein treated as the basis of the paragraphs which immediately follow.

The *Venjance* lacks the three marked northern traits which, we have seen, characterize the *Vengement*. — 1) Checked nasal *a* and *e* are not separated. There are six stanzas (8, 34, 46, 65, 71, 77) involved, all in *-nt*. Stanza 8 to be sure is, except for one word (*grant*),[4] a pure *-ent* stanza. The first half (1880-1901) of stanza 77 is in *-ant*, save *torment*;[5]

1. Karl Sachrow, *Ueber die Vengeance d'Alexandre von Jean le Venelais*, Halle, 1902, 74 pp.
2. *Rom.*, Vol. 32 (1903), pp. 150-60.
3. *Die Vengeance Alixandre von Jehan le Nevelon*. [Privately printed, 1902. 50 copies only.]
4. And, even here, for the *grant* of MP the other family of manuscripts has (NOX) *jouvent*.
5. For the *talent* (1891) of M, all the other manuscripts have *samblant*; moreover *talent* belongs to the group of words which in the stock poetic language show indifferently *-ent* or *-ant*.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

the second (1902-25) is in *-ent*, except perhaps 1910 and possibly 1912 and 1924. [1] The remaining four stanzas, however, show complete confusion of the two sounds. — 2) Final *-s* and *-z* are separated. There are seven stanzas in *-es* (1, 6, 38, 42, 58, 61, 67), three in *-iez* (2, 62, 66), four in *-uz* (15, 48, 56, 68), two in *-iz* (14, 57). These stanzas, comprising over 400 lines, show only sporadic cases of rhyme words in *-s*. [2] The five stanzas in *-s* (10, 20, 45, 50, 60: all in *-is*), comprising some 84 lines, show at most only two words in *-z*. [3] — 3) There are no indications that the shortened pronominal-adjective forms *no*, *vo*, or the lengthened future forms *averai*, *perderai*, etc., — phenomena well established for the *Vengement*, — were in any wise characteristic of the *Venjance*. [4]

Not alone are these dialectical marks absent, but such others as would serve to differentiate the language from that used in the central territory. The testimony afforded by the rhymes points simply to a writer who pronounced alike *plain* and *plein* (72), who separated his *-é* from *-ié*, [5] who did not reduce his

1. In 1910 M has *traïtor pullent*, but all the other manuscripts have a form in *-ant* (*cuivert soudoiant*, Q *cuivert mescreant*). In 1912 M has *tranchant*, but the other manuscripts have one line in the place of 1912-13: *De broches es costez come rat que on prent*. Line 1924 (*maintenant*) is present only in M.

2. In stanza 14, *païs* (282), *amis* (286a), *Moncenis* (286b), *amis* (292). The adjective *massis* 57 (1274) does not constitute an additional example, as it appears in Old French both with *-z* and with *-s* (cf. *Florence de Rome*, ed. Wallensköld, Vol. I, p. 76); nor does the oblique plural of the substantive *tref*, *tré* in 42 (950: *trés* MPS; Q *prez*, NX *guez*) and in 67 (1592: *l'envoia a ses tres* QS, *l'envoie a ses trez* F; MP *l'envoia a son tref*, N *l'amena a ses mez*), for which the form *trez* occurs already in Chrétien de Troyes, and for which the oblique singular form in our poem is *tré* 52 (1157).

3. Namely, *faintiz* 10 (203), but cf. *supra* the double form of the adjective of similar termination *massiz*; and *piz* 45 (992 QSNX), in the place of which M and P have *vis*.

4. In line 1445 the shortened pronominal adjective occurs in one family of manuscripts: *de no* (or *vo*) *chevalerie* MPQS (NOX *de nostre compaignie*). In 1814 M has *vo*, but the line is an interpolation occurring only in this manuscript.

5. Stanzas in *-é*, *-ée*, *-er*, *-ez*: 9, 12, 21, 28, 35, 44, 49, 52, 76; 36, 59; 19, 55, 70, 73, 75; 1, 6, 38, 42, 58, 61, 67. Stanzas in *-ié*, *-ier*, *-iez*: 17, 24, 26; 11, 31, 41, 47, 53; 2, 62, 66. Stanza 17 is mani-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

-iee to *-ie*,[1] who rhymed his *jor* with *seignor*.[2] There is nothing which specifically suggests the East, nothing specifically the West. The nearest suggestion to a regional trait is the evidence in the first and the last stanzas in *-nt* that the author was not unaccustomed to distinguishing in his pronunciation between *-ant* and *-ent*, but the remaining *-nt* stanzas prove that he had absolutely no compunctions about interchanging the two terminations.

It seems sufficiently manifest that we are dealing with a writer whose aim was to conform to the conventions of the literary circles in central France,[3] and perhaps the most reasonable explanation of his showing a tendency at times to segregate *-ent* from *-ant* is that such a segregation was with him a native trait. If this explanation be accepted, it points to a northerner whose early linguistic habits had been weakened by broader contacts. That there is no similarly clear suggestion of a tendency to confuse *-z* with *-s* is not in contradiction with such an explanation. A desire not to run counter to the speech habits of the Center would be no obstacle to his separating from time to time *-ent* from *-ant*, since no jar would result for the ears of non-northern auditors; but a frequent rhyming of *-z* with *-s* would have created an acoustic association at variance with their habits and would thus have marked him out as a regional writer.

festly corrupt in all the manuscripts (see the note in the Schultz-Gora edition), and even their combined testimony does not in every instance suffice to show what was the original reading. The other stanzas show normal rhymes. Both *iré* **6** (125), **76** (1874), and *irié* **2** (42), **26** (536), are used. *Pitié* occurs in **24** (507); so *amistié* in **24** (508) and **26** (543).

1. There are no stanzas in *-iee*. The stanzas in *-ie*, **7**, **13**, **22**, **27**, **33**, **39**, **43**, **63**, contain no reductions of *-iee*. The reading *vuidie* in the edition **63** (1469) is in M and Q only; the remaining manuscripts, covering both families, have *guerpie*.

2. The stanzas in *-or*, **25**, **30**, **74**, furnish abundant examples of *jor*, *tor*, *retor*, etc.

3. Professor Walberg (*Rom.*, 32, p. 150) goes so far as to concede that the language might with probability be located as belonging to northern Champagne, but I can see nothing which authorizes us to make a more specific assertion than that the poem is free from any dialectical marks differentiating it from the French of the Center.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The summary given by Walberg [1] of the various archaic linguistic traits, and of the few items which point on the other hand toward some weakening in the inflectional system, lead him to the wise conclusion that they furnish no safe criterion for the date of composition, and that while they would satisfactorily apply to the first half of the thirteenth century they do not interfere with our advancing or retarding this date should evidence of some other character so indicate.

The author of the *Venjance Alixandre* names himself in the second stanza of the poem, but the manuscripts are not in accord as to the form of the name. Manuscript M reads Jehans li Nevelons; Q, N, O, X, which form a group, have Jehans li Venelais; P and S, constituting a group allied to M, show Jehans li nouviaus hoirs. The last of the three may be unhesitatingly eliminated, and is probably to be interpreted as derived from a scribal "correction" of Jehans li Nevelons (*li neuelons: li nouel oirs: li nouiaus hoirs*). Manuscript M has been shown to be the best, and its readings, according to even the most conservative estimate, carry as much weight as the combined testimony of Q, N, O, X. [2] Thus Professor Schultz-Gora, in his edition, has not only kept in the text the M reading of the name, but has placed it upon his title-page. [3] His decision is sustained by Professor Walberg, with a review of the evidence. [4] The fifteenth-century prose version of the *Roman d'Alexandre* by Jean Wauquelin includes the *Venjance*, and in Part II, section cxiii, the author is cited as

1. *Rom.*, 32, pp. 153-55.

2. The manuscripts were studied by Karl Sachrow, *Ueber die Vengeance d'Alexandre von Jean le Venelais*, pp. 14-35. Different conclusions were reached by Schultz-Gora in his edition of the poem issued in the same year. Walberg, in his review of Sachrow and Schultz-Gora (*Rom.*, Vol. 32, pp. 150-60), fully approves of Schultz-Gora's choice of M as the best manuscript, and in the *Från filologiska Föreningen i Lund: Språkliga Uppsatser* III, 1906, pp. 5-30, he returns to the question with a detailed and convincing re-study of the manuscript relations.

3. *Die Vengeance Alixandre von Jehan le Nevelon.*

4. *Rom.*, 32, p. 155.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Jehan Nevelaux.[1] Geoffroy Tory, in his *Champfleury*, 1529, fo. 3 v°, refers to him as Jehan Linevelois, and Claude Fauchet, in his *Recueil*, 1581, p. 84, as Jehan li Nevelois. Thus the early references to the author all give the first syllable of his surname as Neve-, and so furnish confirmation of M as against QNOX. Fauchet's testimony, it may be noted, is here of little or no independent value, for the Neve- of Fauchet is almost certainly derived directly from M. In the first place, Paul Meyer[2] has identified the handwriting of certain marginal notes in M as probably Fauchet's. Moreover Fauchet cites the passage in the *Venjance* where Jean is named, and it corresponds so closely to the lines in M as to indicate that M was Fauchet's source. So his Nevelois for Nevelons of the manuscript seems a mere "correction" of his own similar to the remaining divergencies.[3]

The conclusion of Schultz-Gora and Walberg seems all the more fully justified because a surname *li Nevelons* constituted a form readily comprehensible, as we shall shortly see, to contemporaries of the author of the poem but meaningless to scribes of a later date. It is therefore easy to understand why these later scribes should alter it into a more standardized surname in *-ais*, while if the surname had originally termina-

1. So in the manuscripts BNF 9342 (no pagination), BNF 1419 (fo. 366 v°), and Gotha r. 117 (quoted by Sachrow, p. 6); the fourth manuscript, BNF 707 (fo. 141 r°), has Jehan Menelaux. — A prose version of the *Roman d'Alexandre* in the Besançon Library (Ms. 836) includes the *Venjance*, but a mutilation has destroyed the folio which should have contained the author's name.

2. *Rom.*, 11, p. 280.

3. There follows the passage as given by Fauchet, and in parentheses the divergencies of M:

Seigneurs or faites pes, un petit vos taisiez, (seigneur, fetes, teziez)
S'orrez bons vers nouviaux, car li autre sont viez. (orez, nouviaus)
Jehans li Nevelois fut moult bien afaitiez. (Nevelons, fu, afetiez)
A son hostel se sied: si fu joyans et liez, (sist, joians)
Un chanterre li dit d'Alexandre à ses piez. (dist, Alixandre)
Et quand il l'a oi s'en fu grams et iriez. (quant, grains)
Du fius qu'ot de Candace en a vers cōmenciez, (fiuz)
Bien fais et bien rymez, bien dis et bien dictiez. (fez, rimez, diz, ditiez)
Encor sera du Comte Henry moult bien loiez. (conte, Henri)

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ted in *-ais* there is no adequate reason to explain a change into *li Nevelons*, no longer a normal surname.

In the middle ages Névelon was not uncommon as a Christian name,[1] and also appears occasionally as a patronymic, as in the case of Pierre Névelon, *bailli* of Senlis in 1306.[2] In the case of a person with Jean as his Christian name and Névelon as his patronymic, a normal alternative for Jehan Nevelon would be Jehan le Nevelon, the *le* being pronominal and *Nevelon* an oblique in genitive function: a formation parallel to that seen in such place names as Cossé-le-Vivien, Villeneuve-la-Guyard. The nominative corresponding to Jehan le Nevelon would be Jehans li Nevelons, for while strictly speaking the patronymic should have remained *Nevelon*, it was inevitable that in a theoretical Jehan li Nevelon the nominative flection of the Christian name and the article should be extended to the patronymic. Notice that in Jehans li Nevelons this assimilation of the patronymic to the nominative case is only partial, the conventional nominative being Nievles or Nieules.[3] Modern French, rich in simple patronymics (Guy, Henri, Pierre, Perron, Philippon, etc.), possesses in addition a certain number of the type Leguy, Leguillon, Le Jean, Le Paul, Le Péron, Lestienne, Lhenri; but patronymics introduced by the article are on the whole infrequent. So

1. For example, Névelon, knight in the suite of Marie de Champagne, 1166 (Arbois de Jubainville, HistDCChamp, III, 154), Névelon, bishop of Soissons, 1176-1207, Névelon de Bellone, 1180 and 1216 (CEvArr, Guesnon, N° 26 and 74), Névelon de Chavercy, 1227 rnd 1245 (Lauer, CollMss, II, 283 and 278).

2. Lauer, CollMss, II, 185; so also Thomas Névelon, c1285 (CStLBeauvais, Leblond, N° 338); Adans Nivelons, c1276 (Longnon, DocChampBrie, II, 36).

3. So in document of August 23, 1221 (AD Nord, 12.H.2.141, and CNDPDouai, Valois, p. 46), and in Philippe Mousket's *Chronique* (21533), both referring to Névelon the Marshal. It is the phonetics of this form Nievles which leads me to adopt Névelon as the modern orthography for Nevelon; cf. also Nievelos Amions (*Dit d'amour*, Ms B, *Rom.*, Vol. 22, p. 54), and Nievelot Amion, name borne in the thirteenth century by three citizens of Arras (*Moyen Age*, Vol. 15, p. 146). The form Neules, referring back to Névelon de Chaulnes, occurs in a document of 1320 (CChapelArr, fo. 130 r°).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

they were in Old French also; the only document in which I have noted an abundance of them is the cartulary of Flines (diocese of Cambrai), where we have for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries oblique forms such as Ernoul le Bauduin, Jaquemon le Gillon, Jacque le Hellin, Amelot le Huon, and nominatives Jacques li Hellins, Jehans li Mikieus, Jakemes li Waukiers, Pieres li Wistasses. [1] This type with *le* represents a tendency toward the creation of a patronymic prefix, a tendency almost devoid of permanent results in French, the other patronymic prefix which the language created being sepresented today by British and not French family names: Fitzgerald, Fitzherbert, Fitzhugh, Fitz-Henry, etc.

Save in the prologue to the *Venjance* I have located in vernacular documents no references to a Jehan le Nevelon, and only one to a Jehan Nevelon. [2] On turning to Latin texts, we find an isolated occurrence in 1269 of a Johannes Nevelonis as *procurator* representing the convent of Sainte-Marie de Soissons in an *enquête* over a conflict between the convent and the commune of Château-Thierry. [3] There was also a Johannes Nevelonis who about 1280 was a house owner at Paris, who in 1284 is spoken of as deceased, and who may be identical with Johannes Nevelonis, goldsmith at Paris in 1277. [4]

1. CFlines, Hautcœur, where the names can be located thru the index. It is interesting to remark how the patronymic could even swing over into accord with a feminine Christian name: Maryen le Bauduine, Maigne li Bauduine, Maryen le Jehannine.

2. In 1264 Jean Névelon, squire, and his wife confirm a property transfer at Vert-le-Grand, near Paris (ArHDParis, InvSom, N° 3543); cf. also the mention in 1277 of a Jean Nevelan, guardian of the daughter of Nicolas Lombard (*ibid.*, N° 844).

3. *Les Olim*, I, 298. — A "Johannes Nevelo" is named in the GC, III, 299, as being abbot of St-Nicolas-des-Prés at Tournai in 1200-1205. An examination, however, of the cartulary of this monastery for the period in question indicates merely the existence of a Nevelo abbot of St-Nicolas and of a Johannes abbot of the neighboring St-Martin. In 1205 these abbots united in issuing a document, and this or some similar joint action may have led to the confusion of the two in the GC. See CStMTournai, Vos, Vol. II, N° 55, 72, 73, 80. The *Monasticon belge*, I, 432, calls attention to the probable error of the GC.

4. ObProvSens, Molinier, I, 130; CNDParis, Guérard, IV, 66, and III, 64; ArHDParis, Brièle, N° 775. — In 1310, the Countess of Hainaut and

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

It remains to consider a Johannes Nevelonis who appears in a group of documents which supply regarding him a certain amount of information. He belongs to a family whose most distinguished representative was Névelon de Lihons, royal marshal, for a long period *bailli* of Philip Augustus at Arras. [1] Névelon was usually referred to as Névelon the Royal Marshal, frequently with the added appelation *bailli* of Arras. His first appearance in our documents is in 1198, as Névelon of Lihons. [2] An allusion to him by Giraldus Cambrensis [3] indicates that he was already *bailli* of Arras in August or September, 1199. After his first appearance with the specific designations *marescallus* and *baillivus* in February, 1201, his name comes up frequently in Artesian documents, the last occurrence being on September 28, 1222. In June, 1223, his successor Adam de Milly was serving as *bailli* of Arras, so presumably Névelon had died between these two dates. His wife Marie was living in February, 1209, but in 1219 she had been replaced by an Aelis. [4]

her son Count William gave a note to Jean Névelon, Paris goldsmith, in payment for a gold crown (*Mém. p. s. à l'hist. des provinces de Namur, de Hainaut et de Luxembourg*, Vol. III, Brussels, 1874, p. 596).

1. What we know of Névelon the Marshal has been collected by Petit-Dutaillis, Louis VIII; by Guesnon, OrigArr; and in Delisle's study of the *baillis* which serves as an introduction to Vol. 24 (1904) of the HGF. I shall give specific references only to such documents as I have been able to add to their lists, or as showed on consultation additional information for the purposes of this study. Regarding the office of *maréchal du roi*, see Luchaire, *Manuel des institutions fr.*, § 286.

2. The Priory of Lihons confirms to Névelon his dwelling and ground at Lihons as a holding from the Church, and specifies the restrictions upon the fief (CLihons, fo. 41-42). Lihons is in Vermandois adjoining Chaulnes, and is 52 km. due south from Arras. During the summer of 1926 my colleague Professor Buffum kindly consulted for me the work of Sébastien Roulliard, *Lihuns en Sang-ters, ou discours de l'antiquité, privilèges et prérogatives du monastère de Li-huns... en sang-ters*, Paris, 1627. It contains nothing about Névelon or his family.

3. *Opera*, London, 1861-91, Vol. III, p. 240. Giraldus, while on the way from Douai to Cambrai during a flight from King John of England in 1199, narrowly escapes falling into the hands of a "serviens Nevelonis illius nequissimi custodis Atrebati, qui cunctos spoliabat Anglicos et nulli parcebat." For the dating of this episode, see Vol. I, pp. lxvii-lxviii.

4. A Robert de Lihons comes up in 1172 as witness for Pierre, cas-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Névelon's son, presumably his eldest, was also Névelon. He comes into view in February, 1209, when Philip Augustus confirms the marriage settlement by which Névelon the Marshal, Girard d'Equancourt, and Simon de Marteville transfer various properties in Vermandois to Névelon junior and to Lucie, daughter of Girard, on the occasion of their marriage. Girard gives outright all his holdings at Chanle (Chaulnes); Nevelon the Marshal grants, among other things, the succession to his holdings at the same place; as the younger Névelon appears regularly under the name of Névelon de Chaulnes, property interests near the home manor of Lihons [1] may be supposed to have played a part in this union. There is nothing to tell us whether this was his first marriage. Névelon de Chaulnes was a member of the ill-fated expedition under the direction of Eustache le Moine sent to the relief of Prince Louis in England, and is named among those captured by the English in the naval engagement of August 24, 1217. In May, 1237, Névelon and Lucie were still living, and united in a substantial gift to the church of S^te^-Marie de Biarch.[2] Nothing indicates definitely whether the Névelon de Chaulnes who appears in February, 1250,[3] and in November of the same year,[4] is our Névelon I of Chaulnes. But in September, 1261, Gobert d'Eterpigny,[5] son of a deceased Névelon de Chaulnes, in conjunction with Gobert's mother Marie and his wife Mabilia, makes a sale of property to the Commanderie de S^t^-Jean de Jérusalem at Eterpigny.[6] There is no great probability that the elderly Névelon of

tellan of Péronne (CMtStQuentin, AD Somme, 16.H.1), in 1173 as witness for Philip of Flanders (CArrouaise, fo. 63), and in 1188 as a benefactor of the convent of Fervaques (Cocheris, SAPic, *Mémoires*, Vol. 16, 1859, p. 87). His dates would permit of his being Névelon's father.

1. Lihons and Chaulnes are only 4 km. apart.
2. BNMoreau, 153, fo. 46.
3. CLihons, fo. 9.
4. CLihons, fo. 21.
5. Known also as Gobert de Lihons (ArNat, S.5222, liasse 1, N° 15 and 16, and CEterpigny, fo. 41-43 and fo. 82-83).
6. ArNat, S. 5222, liasse 1, N° 13, and CEterpigny, fo. 119-25.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

1237 thereafter lost his wife Lucie, married a Marie, and had by her a son who was in 1261 an adult and himself married. It is more natural to assume that the Névelon mentioned in 1261 was a Névelon II of Chaulnes; the Névelon of 1250 may as well as not be this Névelon. In any event, our latest assured date for Névelon de Chaulnes, son of Névelon the Marshal, is 1237.

Névelon the Marshal also had a son Jean, officer of the cathedral chapter of Arras. This son does not, as do some of the clergy, appear with a surname of locality. Such property as we have record of his possessing was in Artois[1] and not in the ancestral domains of Vermandois. All that we know directly concerning him comes from records of the cathedral church of Ste-Marie at Arras.[2] There follow the passages concerning this Jean:

xvi kal. novembris. — Obitus Goisberti levite et canonici. Commemoratio fratrum nostrorum monachorum Sancti Dionisii... Et obitus Nevelonis baillivi Attrebatensis et Marie uxoris ejus et Renaldi filii eorum militis, pro quibus Johannes Nevelonis concanonicus noster dedit nobis .xv. sol. annuatim qui accipiuntur super hospites de Boella.[3]

xvi kal. novembris. — Obitus Goisberti... Commemoratio fratrum nostrorum... Et obitus domini Johannis de Nivella

1. More specifically, at Boyelles, arrondissement of Arras, and at Arras itself. See passages quoted *infra* from Arras Mss. 740, fo. 77 v°, 290, fo. 160 v°, and Hague Ms. 70.H.54, fo. 34 v°.

2. The extant manuscripts, save one, are preserved in the Bibliothèque d'Arras. In referring to the Arras manuscripts I follow the numbering at present in use at that library, that of the *Catalogue général des mss de la Bibliothèque d'Arras*, Arras, 1860, but add in parenthesis the numbers as given in the *Cat. gén. des bibl. pub.: Départements*, Vol. 4 (1872): *Arras*, For the dates of the composition of these manuscripts I follow the catalogue of 1860. Of the documents utilized, Mss. 290 and 305 have considerable gaps and so preserve no items for ".iii. kal. decembris." There is also, Ms. 424 (1026), a *Martyrologium et Necrologium Eccelesiæ Atrebatensis*, but it consists mainly of martyrology and includes no local items for the dates which interest us; there is further, Ms. 395 (998), an *Obituarium Ecclesiæ Atrebatensis*, but it breaks off at about the month of July.

3. Ms. 740 (337), *Necrologium Atrebatense*, 13th and 14th cent., fo. 77 v°.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

quondam presbiteri de Miaullens... Et obitus Nevelonis baillivi quondam Attrebatensis et Marie ejus uxoris et Renaldi eorum filii militis, pro quibus distribuuntur .x. mc. et .xv. s. et obol. annui redditus super .xix. hospites de acquisitis Johannis archidiaconi Attrebatensis eorum filii apud Boele. Distribuuntur et pro eisdem.iiii. lib. .iiii. s. pro .iiii. xx. lib. reponitis in decima empta apud Armentieres ab Hellino de Wasiers, et quocienscumque domus quam nunc tenet Jacobus prepositus noster [1] vendetur quarta pars vendagii obitum augmentabit predictum. Cum hiis autem de dono domini Gileberti canonici quondam Attrebatensis et presbiteri [2] distribuuntur .v. mc. de decima d'Ablaing. Ex hiis dantur singulis capellanis .iiii. d., et clericis installatis .iii., et fit vigilia .ix. lectionum. Item distribuuntur .ix. mc. pro .xlv. lib. de vendagio domus predicti archidiaconi fratri Petro scholastico repositis in emptione decime de Goy empte a domino Willermo de Attreb. militis. [3]

III kal. decembris. — Obitus Hildeburgis vidue. Et Alaudi de Leventhies patris Roberti canonici... Eodem die obitus magistri Walteri de Porta castellani... Et obitus viri venerabilis Johannis Nevelonis archidiaconi Attrebatensis, pro quo distribuuntur .xviii. lib. Item pro eodem dantur centum et .viii. sol., donec de .c. et octo lib. quas nobis dederunt ejus executores redditus comparetur. Inde dantur capellanis .iiii. d., clericis installatis .iii. Et fit vigilia novem lectionum. [4]

III kal. decembris. — Obitus Hildeburgis vidue. Et Alaudis de Leventhies... Eodem die obitus magistri Walteri de Porta... Obiit etiam vir venerabilis Johannes Nevelonis archidiaconi (*sic*) Attrebatensis, pro quo distribuuntur .xxiii. lib. .viii. sol. de acquisitis apud Bray et de decima apud Rikebourc. Inde dantur capellanis .iiii. d., clericis .iii. d. Et fit vigilia novem

1. Jacobus was provost of Arras 1269-76; this furnishes us a *terminus a quo* for the manuscript.

2. A certain Gilbert, canon and priest of the Arras chapter, appears as signatory to documents of 1193, 1206, 1207, Jan. 1209, Dec. 1209, Dec. 1212, Apl. 1213, Oct. 1213, Jan. 1214, Apl. 1219, Aug. 1219, Nov. 1220. He is recorded (CChapelArr, fo. 43 v°) in June 1222 as bequeathing to the chapter his one-half interest in the tithe acquired by the chapter from Achard d'Ablain.

3. Ms. 290 (945), *Martyrologium et Obituarium*, end 13th to 15th cent., fo. 160 v°; and Ms. 305 (968), *Obituarium*, end 13th to 15th cent., fo. 94 v°. The readings, abbreviations, and handwritings in these two manuscripts are so similar that they may have been duplicate registers kept going at the same time.

4. Ms. 740, fo. 89 v°. The portion referring to Johannes is one of a set of items in a different and later hand appearing in this manuscript at the end of many of the paragraphs.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

lectionum. Quotienscumque autem domus dicti archidyaconi sita in claustro ex opposito chori ecclesie nostri vendetur medietas precii cedet in augmentum hujus obitus. Alterius mediatatis pars dimidia cedet in augmentum parentum suorum et alia in augmentum obitus Tome Remensis archiepiscopi [1] et mandati pauperum pro equis portionibus. Unde de pecuniis provenientibus ex quinque vendagiis repositis in decima de Goy et de alodio in Gohella ac terris emptis apud Marquillies distribuuntur in hoc obitu .xx. libre .v. d. et .xviii. mc. annone. [2]

CONDITIONES DOMORUM CAPITULI ET NOMINA ILLORUM QUI CONTULERUNT EAS ECCLESIE. — Domus que modo est J. Louchart, fuit Johannis Nevelonis archidiaconi Atrebatensis qui obiit .iii. kalendas decembris; de cujus venditionibus medietas cedit in augmentum obitus dicti archidiaconi, quarta in augmentum obitus parentum suorum et alia in augmentum obitus Thome Remensis archiepiscopi et augmentum mandati pauperum pro equis portionibus. [3]

From these references we gather that Johannes Nevelonis, archdeacon of the Arras chapter, was a son of Névelon the Marshal and that he had substantial possessions. His gifts to the chapter included one in commemoration of his father, of his mother Marie, and of his brother Renaud, [4] all of whom

1. Thomas de Beaumetz, previously a canon of the Arras chapter, was archbishop of Reims from 1251 to 1263; see GC, IX, 113, and III, 357.

2. Ms. 378 (980), *Martyrologium et Obituarium*, 15th cent., 2 vols., Vol. 2, fo. 51. Under XIII *kal. martii*, the same manuscript (I, fo. 29) enters the *obitus* of Archbishop Thomas and refers again to the allotment from the revenues of the *domus Johannis Nevelonis*.

3. Bibl. Royale de La Haye, Ms. 70.H.54, *Cartularium Ecclesie cathedralis Atrebati*, fo. 34 v°. The list of chapter residences of which this item forms a part was in the eighteenth century transcribed in Ms. 1088 (1120 F) of the Bibliothèque d'Arras: *Arras: Chapitre métropolitain: Extraits de trois cartulaires*. The present item is there recorded on fo. 8 v°.

4. In 1242 the son of Adam de Milly, *bailli* of Arras, married a Marie, daughter of Renaud de Chaulnes, possibly the Renaud here mentioned (BNFlArt, 81, fo. 43 v°). If this identification should be correct, the qualification "de Chaulnes" might indicate that the Marshal had invested Renaud with his Chaulnes property, which would locate Renaud's death as having occurred before 1209, when the Marshal vested in his son Névelon the eventual succession to this property. See *supra*, p. 34.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

therefore Jean survived. A gift to the chapter of 108 *livres* was presumably recorded in his will, since it was transferred by his executors. Jean had moreover acquired a residence in the cathedral precincts, and he vested in the chapter his interest in the proceeds of its sale to each new tenant, these proceeds in every instance to be applied to a commemorative fund. The only date we can infer from the documents we have quoted is that he survived his father, who was living in 1222.[1] Before seeking evidence elsewhere for a more specific dating, let us consider a second Johannes Nevelonis of Arras who makes his appearance somewhat later.

The *Gallia Christiana* gives a list of the provosts of the Arras chapter[2] showing that its provost was named Jean during a period extending from 1227 to 1255,[3] or, to state more specifically the dates for which we have mention of the name, in the years 1227-36, 1238-39, 1242-43, 1245, 1249-55.[4] This Jean is in 1229, 1230, 1231, 1233, and 1235 designated as

1. That an eighth of his interest in title-transfers of his dwelling, as we learn from the entry made after his death and during the lifetime of J. Louchart (see *supra*, p. 37), was applied to commemorate Archbishop Thomas, who died in 1263, does not establish a date for Jean, since the allotment of the portion of this donation not applied to the commemoration of Jean and his relatives was doubtless at the discretion of chapter.

2. GC, III, 356.

3. The *termini* are constituted by Herbert, provost, recorded in 1226, and by Thomas, provost, recorded in 1257. The first mention of Thomas in the GC is of 1258, but I find him already noted in July, 1257 (CEvArr, Guesnon, N° 202).

4. As in some instances my list fills in dates not specified in the GC, I append it: 1227 (CChapelArr, fo. 91 r°), 1228 (CChapelArr, fo. 44 v°), 1229 (CChapelArr, fo. 92 r°), 1231 (CChapelArr, fo. 94 v°), 1232 (CChapelArr, fo. 16 r°), 1233 (CChapelArr, fo. 44 v°), 1235 (CChapelArr, fo. 64 v°), 1236 (CChapelArr, fo. 60 v°), 1238 (CChapelArr, fo. 68 v°), 1239 (CChapelArr, fo. 48 v°), 1242 (CChapelArr, fo. 16 v°, and fo. 35 r°), 1243 (CChapelArr, fo. 17 r°, and CStPierreLille, Hautcœur, N° 326), 1250 (BNMoreau, 171, fo. 146, and CEvArr, Guesnon, N° 157), 1251 (BNMoreau, 172, fo. 257, and CFlines, Hautcœur, I, 82), 1252 (BNMoreau, 173, fo. 50, and CEvArr, Guesnon, N° 170), 1253 (CEvArr, N° 176, and CChapelArr, fo. 76 r°), 1254 (CStBarBéthune, Loisne, N° 91), 1255 (CStBarBéthune, Loisne, N° 95, N° 97, N° 98).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Johannes Nevelonis.[1] Here we have the reappearance of a Johannes Nevelonis of the Arras chapter, but this time as provost instead of archdeacon. Having fixed the period to which he belongs, let us return to the dating of Archdeacon Jean.

The *Gallia Christiana* does not furnish lists of chapter archdeacons, nor does Fanien, in his *Histoire du chapitre d'Arras*, attempt to supply the lack. For Arras the compilation of such a list is complicated by the fact that the diocese was divided into two archdeaconries: there was an archdeacory of Arras, and a second of Ostrevant embracing the northern section of the diocese. In some instances the two archdeacons are designated respectively as *archidiaconus Attrebatenses* and *archidiaconus Ostrevandenses*, but in many of the records each is entered simply as *archidiaconus*. In spite of this, it is possible to identify the archdeacons of Arras, as follows: Jean, 1181 to 1193 or 1194[2]; then Raoul de Neuville, who in

1. I have located only one of these five cases alluded to in the GC; namely, that of 1229 (CChapelArr, fo. 92 r°). — P. Fanien, in his *Histoire du chapitre d'Arras*, p. 173, further states that Jean is termed Johannes Nevelonis in the document of 1245 where Jean, provost, appears. As all the other data of Fanien on this item come bodily from the GC, and as the GC by implication maintains directly the opposite, Fanien's statement, which is not backed up by reference to sources, can be accorded no weight.

2. I have been unable to determine definitely whether 1181 was the first year of Jean's incumbency; in 1175 (AD Nord, 1.H.41.456), 1178 (AD Nord 27.H.61, fo. 69 v°), and 1180 (CArrouaise, fo. 70 v°; CMarchiennes, p. 222) a Raoul appears as archdeacon, but it is probable that be was the Raoul d'Ostrevant of 1181 ff. Since in 1176 we have Huard and Raoul named in conjunction as the two archdeacons (InvChamComptesLille, N° 109), 1176 constitutes the *terminus a quo* for Jean. — The following are the dates at which the name of Jean, archdeacon of Arras, appears: 1181 (CAubigny, fo. 11 r°, CStAmand, N° 174, CEvArr, Guesnon, N° 28, and BNPicardie, 258, fo. 57 v°), 1182 (CAubigny, fo. 42 r°), 1183 (AD Nord, 10.H.146.2253), 1187 (BNMoreau, 90, fo. 41), 1188 (CCysoing, Coussemaker, N° 49, and AD Nord, 27.H.16.232), 1189 (AD Nord, 24.H.20.258), 1191 (CChapelArr, fo. 11 r°), April 8, 1192 (CAubigny, fo. 8 r°), April 1, 1193 or 1194 (CStAméDouai, fo. 29 v°, and BNMoreau, 95, fo. 3). The last-mentioned date is inscribed, in each of the two documents which record it, as the kalends of April, 1193. It so happens that in the year 1193-1194 as reckoned according to the old style the kalends of April (April 1) occurred twice (in 1193 Easter

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

1203 was made bishop, 1194 to 1203;[1] he was followed by Ponce, who in 1221 was likewise made bishop, 1203 or 1205 to 1221;[2] and the successor of Ponce was Barthélemy, 1221 to 1228.[3] From this time on, the names of the archdeacons

fell at March 28, in 1194 at April 10). Thus the "kalends of April, 1193," old style, may be either April 1, 1193, or April 1, 1194, and as the day of the week was not specified there is no way to decide between the two dates. All then that we can with assurance say is that Jean ceased to be archdeacon of Arras after April 1, 1193, and before July 30, 1194, when his successor is first noted. — During the whole of Jean's incumbency the archdeacon of Ostrevant was Raoul: 1181 (CAubigny, fo. 11 r°, CStAmand, N° 174, and BNPicardie, 258, fo. 57 v°), 1182 (CArrouaise, fo. 71 r°), 1183 (AD Nord, 10.H.146.2253), 1185 (BNMoreau, 88, fo. 179), 1186 (ArNat, S.5208.23. N° 1), 1188 (AD Nord, 24.H.8.100, and CCysoing, Coussemaker, N° 49), 1191 (CChapelArr, fo. 11 r°), 1193 (BNMoreau, 95, fo. 14 and 18), 1194 (BNMoreau, 95, fo. 145).

1. "Radulphus, archidiaconus Attrebatensis," July 30, 1194 (CStBarBéthune, Loisne, N° 6 and 10). The archdeacon of Ostrevant continues to bear the name Raoul. Raoul, archdeacon of Arras, and Raoul, archdeacon of Ostrevant, appear side by side in the same document, or else a Raoul, archdeacon, appears with the added qualification "junior," in the following cases: 1195 (CMarœuil, fo. 35 v°), 1196 (AD Nord, 1.H.415.3759), 1198 (CArrouaise, fo. 2 r°, and CMarœuil, fo.31 v°). From 1199 on, my references do not permit me to distinguish which of the two archdeaconries is referred to: Raoul 1200 (CStBertin, Haigneré, N° 431), 1201 (CStBertin, N° 442 and 443), 1202 (CHAvesnes Héricourt, p. 32, and CChArr, Loisne, N° 99), 1203 (AD PCalais, H. 2, fo. 94 r°, and BNMoreau, 105, fo.105).

2. Ponce: 1205 (AD PCalais, H. 2, fo. 94 r°, and CStMartinTournai, Herbomez, I, N° 184), 1206 (CMarchiennes, p. 240, and BNMoreau, 108, fo. 166), 1207 (CChArr, Loisne, N° 109), 1209 (CChArr, N° 113 and 115), 1210 (CChArr, N° 116), 1212 (BNMoreau, 116, fo. 130, 159, 189, and CChArr, N° 123), 1213 (CChArr, N° 129), 1214 (AD Nord, 27.H.46.684), 1215 (CEvArr, Guesnon, N° 72), 1216 (CEvArr, N° 75), 1217 (CMarchiennes, p. 218), 1218 (CEvArr, Guesnon, N°84), 1219 (CMarchiennes, p. 239), 1220 (BNMoreau, 127, fo. 48 and 139), Feb. 1221 (CChapelArr, fo. 42 r°). — As archdeacon of Ostrevant, R[aoul] is recorded in 1204 (CCysoing, Coussemaker, N° 63); Simon appears in 1205 (AD PCalais, H. 2, fo. 94 r°), and his name thereafter comes up frequently in conjunction with that of Ponce.

3. Barthélemy: July 1221 (BNMoreau, 129, fo. 129), 1222 (BNMoreau, 131, fo. 80), 1223 (BNMoreau, 132, fo. 38), 1224 (BNMoreau, 134, fo. 131), 1225 (BNMoreau, 135, fo. 202), 1226 (BNMoreau, 137, fo. 197), 1227 (BNMoreau, 138, fo. 156), 1228 (BNMoreau, 140, fo. 108). — In 1227 Simon had been replaced by Herbert as archdeacon of Ostrevant (CMaroeuil, fo. 28 v°). Presumably Herbert's successor was Asso, who in 1231 became bishop (GC, III, 331).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

appear less frequently in the cartularies; as I have covered the period in which I believe they concern us, it suffices to say that I have found no other case of a Jean occurring as archdeacon in the first half of the thirteenth century save an example of a Jean of Ostrevant, 1232.[1]

The mere matter of chronology would not render it impossible that Johannes Nevelonis, archdeacon from 1181 to 1193, was the same person as Johannes Nevelonis, provost from 1229 to 1235, tho in that case the Johannes who was provost from 1235 to 1255 was hardly still Johannes Nevelonis. But had one and the same Johannes Nevelonis been first archdeacon and then, years later, provost, there is no probability that, when he was referred to after his death by the official recorders, mention would be made only of his earlier office, and that his later and much more recent office in the chapter would be passed over in silence. This seems a decisive argument for distinguishing between the archdeacon and the provost. If we do this, it becomes easy to accept the opinion of the authors of the *Gallia Christiana* that it was one and the same Jean, namely Johannes Nevelonis, who was provost from 1227 to 1255. This Jean, "son of Névelon," holding an important chapter office by 1227, might well be a nephew and namesake of Archdeacon Jean and a son of Névelon I of Chaulnes.[2] That it was only in 1209 that Névelon de Chaulnes was married to Lucie d'Equancourt does not exclude such an assumption, for we have no evidence that this was his only marriage. Jean, son of Névelon the Marshal, was already archdeacon in 1181, and Jean's brother Névelon, bearing his father's given name and designated as an important heir in his estates, was presumably Jean's senior; in any event, he was probably of marriageable age long before 1209. Nor does the fact that Jean was archdeacon by 1181 demand an assumption that his father, who was still alive in 1222, survived to a start-

1. CAubigny, fo. 64 r°.
2. See *supra*, p. 34.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

lingly advanced age: first marriages were commonly contracted during what we should consider to be boyhood; and ecclesiastical offices, particularly in the case of members of influential families, were often conferred on exceedingly youthful candidates.[1] All told, it is indicated that we should distinguish Provost Jean from Archdeacon Jean.[2]

In the further discussion I shall assume 1181 as the date of accession of Johannes Nevelonis. While there is no clear testimony in the documents as to the archdeacon of Arras from 1177 to 1180, the age restrictions indicated above make it highly improbable that Jean was archdeacon before the date when we first find his name, so that it suffices to call attention to the remote possibility that his incumbency may have begun slightly earlier.

Thus there were at Arras two persons bearing the name Johannes Nevelonis, and the only other individuals of the name whom we have located are the procurator appearing in 1269 at Soissons, and two to three obscure residents of Paris and adjoining territory who appear between 1278 and 1284.[3] Let us now consider whether any one of these per-

1. In the time of Philip Augustus upper-class marriages were common between boys of fourteen and girls of twelve; see Luchaire, *La Société française au temps de Philippe Auguste*, Paris, 1909, p. 386. — Council after council in the twelfth century passes canons condemning the appointment of immature persons to archdeaconships. Thus the Lateran Council of 1179 demands that archdeacons be not less than twenty-five years old; see Hefele, *Histoire des conciles*, trad. H. Leclercq, Vol. 5 (1913), p. 1089, can. 3; for other restrictive measures passed by various councils, see Thomassin, *Ancienne et nouvelle discipline de l'Église*, ed. 1725, Vol. I, Book II, Chap. XX.— If we assume that Névelon the Marshal was married at seventeen (say in 1154), that his son Névelon was born a year later, his son Jean two years later, and that Jean was appointed archdeacon at the age of twenty-five (1181), then Névelon senior would in 1222 have been eighty-five years old. If instead Névelon was married at fifteen and Jean received his appointment at twenty-two, we need not suppose that Névelon lived to be more than eighty.

2. There is no sound basis for assuming that, by a confusion in the texts, "archdeacon" crept in for "provost," or *vice versa*. Their testimony is too clear-cut and was too nearly contemporary to admit of laying violent hands upon it.

3. See *supra*, p. 32.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

sons meets the conditions attached to Jean le Névelon, author of a continuation of the *Roman d'Alexandre*.

Our only specific internal evidence regarding the circumstances attending the composition of the *Venjance Alixandre* is that contained in the second stanza of the poem, which in Manuscript M reads as follows:

2, 1 Seigneur, or fetes pes, un petit vos teziez,
S'orez bons vers nouviaus, car li autre sont viez.
Jehans li Nevelons fu mout bien afetiez.
A son ostel se sist, si fu joians et liez.
5 Uns chanterre li dist d'Alixandre a ses piez;
Et quant il l'a oï, s'en fu grains et iriez.
Du fiuz qu'ot de Candace en a vers conmenciez,
Bien fez et bien rimez, bien diz et bien ditiez.
Encor sera du conte Henri mout bien loiez.
10 Cil est sus tot le mont de doner enforciez.
Sages est et cortois, preus et bien afetiez,
Et aime les eglises et honore clergiez.
Les povres gentils homes n'a il pas abessiez,
Ançois les a trestouz et levez et hauciez,
15 Et donnees les rentes, les terres et les fiez;
En cuer de si haut home n'ot ains si grant pitiez.
Ja ses pers de doner n'ert mes apareilliez;
Des le temps Alixandre ne fu tel, ce sachiez.
Quanque Dieus a el monde li fust bien emploiez.
3, 1 Ci vos lerons du conte, meilleur home ne voi;
Si vos conmenceron d'Alixandre le roi.

The poem is, we see, dedicated to a count Henri.[1] It is superfluous to list anew the various identifications which have been proposed for this count.[2] Those which locate him in Flemish

1. The only counts of this name for the *langue d'oïl* region who appear in the lists of the *Art de vérifier les dates* and of Mas-Latrie for the second half of the twelfth or for the thirteenth century are Henri I (1170-91), Henri II (1214-40), and Henri III (1296-1302) of Bar-le-Duc; Henri I (1152-81), Henri II (1181-97), and Henri III (1270-74) of Champagne; Henri I (1214-27) and Henri II (1275-1302) of Rodez; Henri II of Eu (1170-83); Henri of Penthièvre (1212-35).

2. Sachrow, pp. 5-14, has noted and analysed them. They include Henri I and Henri II of Champagne, Henri I of Louvain (1172-90; there-

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

territory or rin Luxemburg find no positive support of any character, internal or external, and may be set down as inherently improbable.[1] When we turn to France, by far the best known counts of the name are those who reigned in Champagne. Of these, Henri III (1270-74) is later than we have any reason to place the poem. Henri II, born in 1166, was from 1181 to 1187 under the regency of his mother Marie; from then on he was busily occupied with wars until he left in 1190 for the Orient, where he remained until his death in 1197. In the history of his brief reign there is nothing to justify the terms which Jean le Névelon applies to Count Henri. Henri I (1152-81) offers a different record. He was a student of the liberal arts, his recreation was the reading of classical and religious authors, and he was intimately associated with various men of letters among the clerics. His generosity to the church can hardly be characterized as less than immense: even the gifts of which record still remains can be counted by the hundreds, and he founded individual churches by the dozen. It is on this account that his contemporaries dubbed him Henri le Libéral.[2] This is the Count Henri with whom, among all the medieval French counts of the name, we should naturally associate a dedication in which the patron is described as most generous of men, friend of churches, admirer of the clergy, enricher of impover-

after duke of Brabant), and Henri V of Luxemburg (1288-1308). In deciding (pp. 63-66) for Henri I of Champagne, Sachrow comes to his conclusion mostly from his analysis of the linguistic traits of the poem, whereby he thinks that he can date it as of the twelfth century, and localize it in the territory between Soissons, Laon, and Reims. This is an attribution of undue weight to the linguistic testimony (see, *supra*, p. 28).

1. Paul Meyer (AlGr, II, 264), by reason of his mistaken idea that the work could not be earlier than the end of the thirteenth century, and of his curious choice of the form Jehan le Nevelois for the name of the author, decided on Henry V of Luxemburg, who later became the emperor Henry VII. There is even concrete evidence that this choice is excluded: see Edwards, EM, 20, p. 3.

2. See Arbois de Jubainville, HistDCChamp, Vol. III (the whole of this volume is concerned with the life and reign of Henri I); Poinsignon, HistChamp, I, pp. 123-39.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ished gentlefolk, liberal to a degree entitling him to rank with Alexander. It is no more than good common sense to hold fast to the view that when Jean dedicated a poem concerned with Alexander, model of *largesse*, to a Count Henri, latter day incarnation of this model, he had in mind Henri le Libéral. In this connection it is of interest to note that another Alexander poem was at about the same period dedicated to Henri's younger brother, Guillaume aux Blanches Mains, archbishop of Reims from 1176 to 1202; namely, the Latin *Alexandreis* by Gautier de Châtillon, completed after 1176.[1]

If we accept Henri le Libéral as the Henri named in the *Venjance*, thus fixing the date of its composition between 1152 and 1181, the only known Johannes Nevelonis who falls within the proper period is the Jean who was son of Névelon the Marshal and archdeacon of Arras, office which the documents show him to have occupied from 1181 to 1193. The evidence that the poet Jean named himself as Jean le Névelon, that the poem was dedicated to Henri le Libéral, and that the dates of Johannes Nevelonis of Arras and Henri le Libéral overlap is assuredly strong enough to make it chronologically possible to identify the poet as the archdeacon. How do the other factors in the question conform to this chronological possibility?

We have already[2] considered the linguistic evidence as to the age of the poem and have seen that it neither establishes nor disproves such a dating: the *Venjance* may belong to the thirteenth century, or it may instead belong to the last quarter of the twelfth. Let us now pass on and weigh the indica-

1. Gautier was secretary to Guillaume as he had been to Guillaume's predecessor in the archbishopric. The composition of the *Alexandreis* was begun between 1172 and 1178 and extended over five years. See *Alexandreis*, ed. F. A. W. Müldener, Leipzig, 1863; HLF, Vol. 15 (1820), pp. 100 ff.; R. Peiper, *Walter von Châtillon*, Breslau, 1869; L. Bellinger, *De Gualtero ab Insula*, Antwerp, 1897; H. Christensen, *Das Alexanderlied Walters von Châtillon*, Halle, 1905; *Die Gedichte Walters von Châtillon*, ed. K. Strecker: Vol. I, *Die Lieder der Handschrift 351 von St. Omer*, Berlin, 1924.

2. See *supra*, p. 29.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

tions which the dedication, alongside of its details about the patron, supplies about the author. Jean le Névelon there clearly implies that the *largesse* which he wishes to celebrate is not of the type preferred by professional authors of low estate, but rather *largesse* toward the Church of God and its representatives, and toward men of gentle birth. If he lôoks for any *loyer*, there is no suggestion that it be in the form of pecuniary favors to him as an individual, for he points out with care that he is in comfortable circumstances, lodged where he can take his ease and where he can, when he wishes, have jongleurs at his beck to while away his evenings. His motive for writing is his interest in the theme, and he is not at all ashamed of his skill in handling the technique of literary composition. All this fits in with what we have learned of the archdeacon Jean. His father was a man of means and of authority, and while we do not know whether Névelon's residence at Arras antedated his assuming the office of *bailli*, his home property lay in the adjoining Vermandois, and his post of royal marshal must have made him a man of influence in the whole region even before he became the official representative of the kingly authority at Arras. The record of Jean's gifts to the chapter testify that he was well-to-do, and also show that he owned his dwelling-house. It would be natural moreover that Jean should come in contact with Count Henri of Champagne. If a man of Névelon's importance destined one of his sons for the priesthood, he would be disposed to send him to an influential scholastic center, in his case either Paris or else Reims, which in the twelfth century had flourishing schools[1] and was the seat of the archbishopric embracing at that date Vermandois and Artois. At Reims Névelon could almost as readily as at Paris utilize his connection with the royal service, for the archbishop at Reims from 1162 to 1175 was Henri, brother of Louis VII, and from 1176 to 1202 was Guillaume aux Blanches Mains, uncle of Philip Augustus. Wheth-

1. See Arbois de Jubainville, HistDCChamp, III, p. 185.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

dered the Johannes Nevelonis by Jean le Névelon or by Jean er Jean studied at Reims or at Paris, his father's standing in the king's army would facilitate relations with Count Henri of Champagne, son-in-law of King Louis and repeatedly a participant on his side in the wars of this monarch. Thus both what we know about the archdeacon Jean and what we should naturally assume about him accord with such information as we derive from the poet Jean's statements regarding himself.

Let us for the purposes of our discussion provisionally merge the archdeacon and the poet and see how we should then interpret the probabilities concerning the unified individual. Granting that Névelon the Marshal married young, that his first child was his namesake, that his second was Jean, that in 1181 Jean, after a superior training according to the standards of his time, was — thru family, or royal, or ecclesiastical influence or thru all three combined — promptly chosen archdeacon by Bishop Frumold of Arras, Névelon was still hardly less than eighty when he died, and Jean hardly twenty-five when he became archdeacon.[1] The *Venjance*, composed before the death of Henri le Libéral in 1181, would fall either within or else shortly after his student days and his contact with the classical training and the literary atmosphere of the schools. The limitations upon the date of his birth would prevent our locating the poem much before 1181. We can not assert that the *Venjance* was composed at Arras, for we do not know that Jean was already at Arras when he was made archdeacon; he may have been called from elsewhere by the bishop. Jean's added designation "son of Névelon" was in his case a natural individualizing term, as his father was widely enough known to make this the most satisfactory identifying addition; but whether the every-day speech ren-

1. See *supra*, p. 42, note 1. Archdeacons were not, as were deans and provosts, elected by the chapter, but were personal appointees of the bishop; this would facilitate the bringing to bear of pressure for the appointment of youthful candidates and would render less effective any jealousy on the part of more mature chapter members.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Névelon [1] is not clear, since in the poem the author may on purely stylistic grounds have given the preference to the form with *le*. The dedication to Count Henri may have been due to a personal acquaintance with that prince, or, if this was lacking, to an admiration for the most open-handed friend of the church among contemporary rulers. Moreover Jean may have studied at Reims, where he would be in Henri's domain and in the midst of his beneficiaries, and where Gautier de Châtillon, at work on his *Alexandreis* dedicated to Henri's brother the archbishop Guillaume, may have suggested the theme.

It has been suggested [2] that the author's statement, *Encor sera du conte Henri mout bien loiez*, [3] conflicts with his pen-portrait of himself as a man in easy circumstances established in his own quarters with professional singers at his disposition; it would then be in conflict also with our historical records of Johannes Nevelonis. But in neither instance does a conflict really exist, for the poet follows up this statement by a specification of the two classes of persons to whom Henri manifests his generosity, — the clergy and the nobility:

> Cil est sus tot le mont de doner enforciez.
> Sages est et cortois, preus et bien afetiez,
> Et aime les eglises et honore clergiez.
> Les povres gentils homes n'a il pas abessiez,
> Ançois les a trestouz et levez et hauciez,
> Et donnees lès rentes, les terres et les fiez, —

and Johannes Nevelonis was both a clerc and a younger son of a member of the lesser nobility. As such, how could a

1. See supra, p. 32, where it has been noted that a patronymic *le* was a popular form in at least one part of the northern territory.
2. Schultz-Gora, Introduction, p. 6.
3. The rhymes of the stanza are in *-iez*, and the poem carefully maintains the distinction between *-iez* and *-ez*. This is evidently the verb *loiier*, "recompense," and not *loer*, "praise." The form occurs again in rhyme **62** (1437). For example of *loiier* as verb, cf. *Rose*, I, 7625.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

hope on his part for rapid advancement be more readily realized than thru the friendly intervention of the ideal representative, according to a medieval churchman's conception, of the *largesse* of Alexander; above all when this representative had at the same time the king as brother-in-law and an archbishop as brother? This brother, Guillaume aux Blanches Mains, — who according to the *Gallia Christiana*[1] had been appointed to a benefice at the age of sixteen, had been elected bishop of Chartres at twenty-nine and archbishop of Sens at thirty-three, — was made archbishop of Reims in 1176. That a Jean le Névelon composed a French poem on Alexander dedicated before 1180 to Henri le Libéral, that Henri's brother was from 1176 to 1202 archbishop of the ecclesiastical province which embraced Arras and had as his secretary the author of the Latin *Alexandreis*, that at a date not earlier than 1176 nor later than 1181 a young Johannes Nevelonis whose father served as a royal officer was named archdeacon of the Arras chapter, — these data pointing to an identification of Jean le Névelon and Johannes Nevelonis may indicate that the tone of somewhat jaunty confidence which pervades our author's dedicatory lines was not without substantial basis and that it was vindicated by subsequent events.

We have noted[2] that in the poem all characteristic marks of Picard or Artesian are absent, and that the rhymes offer no traits in conflict with the speech of the central region. This is in keeping with the dedication to Henri of Champagne, is natural if the work was written when the author was occupied with or just thru his schooling, and is particularly normal if he was at the time residing in the Center. In fact, when we consider the family, ecclesiastical, and literary links which attach to Reims Jean, the son of Névelon, the budding ecclesiastic, and the author of an Alexander poem in honor of Count Henri, the presumption is strong that the road lead-

1. Vol. VIII, 1144-45.
2. See *supra*, p. 27.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ing this youth to his religious preferment and to his literary accomplishment was the highway between Arras and Reims, and that he composed the *Venjance Alixandre*, or in any event received his preparation and his inspiration for composing it, during a sojourn in the home town of Archbishop Guillaume and of Gautier de Châtillon which was at the same time the scholarly center of Count Henri's domain.

In 1195 Johannes Nevelonis had ceased to occupy the post of Archdeacon of Arras, and in 1222 he was still living. During the interval we lose trace of him. He may have been transferred to an office in some diocese where his father was less well known, so that the surname there failed to be maintained or to come down to us, as an identifying mark, in documents which have been preserved. If he made such a change of location, his gifts show that he kept up his contact with the Arras chapter, as would be natural thru his family's residing in Arras. Or he may have continued on in Arras, but have abandoned the archdeaconship and have passed his remaining days in his canonical residence, occupied with more tranquil or more congenial pursuits. I have not found his name as a canon of the chapter during this period, but the names of chapter members were as a rule preserved only by reason of their serving as witnesses to official papers, and Jean may well have left this sort of thing to such of his thirty-nine fellow canons as were less surfeited with affixing their signatures. If in these later years he was occupied with literary pursuits, their record has disappeared.

The conclusion to be drawn from what precedes is not that we have arrived at a mathematical demonstration, and it still remains possible that Jean le Névelon, author of the *Venjance Alixander*, was not Jean, son of Névelon the Marshal. What we can say with assurance is that the materials at our command interpose no grave obstacles to the identification and supply numerous reasons in favor of it.

Should we accept this identification, we still lack adequate data for a definite determination of the relative dates of the

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Venjance Alixandre and the *Vengement Alixandre*. Jean le Névelon's *Venjance* falls before — and very shortly before — 1181; Gui de Cambrai's *Vengement*, before 1191. If Gui, closely in touch as he was with the diocese of Arras, wrote his *Vengement* in the eighties, he could hardly fail to know that the archdeacon then serving in the Arras chapter had shortly earlier composed a similar sequel to the *Roman d'Alexandre*, and, even if he were willing to risk competition with that dignitary, he would have been liable either to offer some excuse for treading in his footsteps or at least, directly or indirectly, to betray an acquaintance with his predecessor's treatment of the theme. The absence of any internal evidence that either author was familiar with the poem of the other[1] suggests that the two works were substantially contemporaneous, belonging alike to the year or years just preceding the death of Count Henri in 1181. If Gui wrote at Arrouaise and if Jean was at the same period composing his poem at Reims, they could readily remain in mutual ignorance of their overlapping projects. There is nothing to surprise us in the independent origin of the two expositions of the theme: the unpunished assassins in the *Roman* were an incentive sufficient to account for these sequels which have in common only the elements supplied by the *Roman*.

To judge from the extant manuscripts, the poems competed rather evenly for a hearing: in seven manuscripts it is the *Venjance* which has been appended to the *Roman*; in seven others it is the *Vengement* which has been so appended; in the Parma Manuscript (F) it is a fusion of the *Venjance* and the *Vengement* which has been utilized. It would seem that contemporary opinion approved the production of two diverse sequels, in one of which — the *Vengement* — the punishment of Alexander's murderers was committed to his followers, while in the other his son Alior was made the central figure and the leader of the avenging army.

1. See Edwards, EM, 20, p. 3.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AD Aisne. — Archives départementales de l'Aisne.
AD Nord. — Archives départementales du Nord.
AD PCalais. — Archives départementales du Pas-de-Çalais.
AD Somme. — Archives départementales de la Somme.
Arbois de Jubainville, HistDCChamp. — H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des ducs et des comtes de Champagne*. Paris, 1859-66. 6 vols.
ArHDParis, Brièle. — *Archives de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris*, ed. L. Brièle. Paris, 1894. [CDIHFr.] (Stein 2961.)
ArHDParis, InvSom. — *Inventaire sommaire des archives hospitalières : Paris : Hôtel-Dieu*. Paris, 1882-86. 3 vols.
ArNat. — Archives Nationales.
BECh. — *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*.
BEHE. — *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes-Études*.
BNF. — Bibliothèque Nationale : Fonds français.
BNFlArt. — Bibliothèque Nationale : Collection de Flandre et d'Artois.
BNL. — Bibliothèque Nationale : Fonds latin.
BNMoreau. — Bibliothèque Nationale : Collection Moreau.
BNNouvAc. — Bibliothèque Nationale : Nouvelles acquisitions.
BNPicardie. — Bibliothèque Nationale : Collection de Picardie.
CArrouaise. — Cartulaire de l'abbaye d'Arrouaise : Bibl. d'Amiens, non coté. (Stein 229.)
CArrouaise, InvSom. — H. Michel, "Inventaire sommaire du cartulaire d'Arrouaise," SAPic : *Bulletin*, 1919, pp. 251-73.
CAubigny. — Cartulaire du prieuré d'Aubigny : AD PCalais, H non coté. (Stein 252.)
CBergues StW, Pruvost. — *Chronique et cartulaire de l'abbaye de Bergues-Saint-Winoc*, éd. A. Pruvost. Bruges, 1875-78. 2 vols.
CBrAnnay, Demarquette. — *Cartulaire et abbesses de la Brayelle d'Annay*, éd. A. Demarquette. Lille, 1885-86.
CCathArr. — Cartulaire de la cathédrale d'Arras : Bibl. de La

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Haye, 70. H.54. (Stein 218.) This is the "parvum cartulare" from which fo. 1-31 of CChArrExt were copied, so that it constitutes one of the two *petits volumes* referred to by Stein (213) as unlocated.

CChArr. — Livre blanc du chapitre d'Arras : BNL, 9930. (Stein 214.)

CChArr, Loisne. — *Le Cartulaire du chapitre d'Arras*, ed. A. de Loisne. Arras, 1896.

CChArrExt. — Extraits de trois cartulaires [du chapitre d'Arras] : Bibl. d'Arras, 1088. (Stein 213.)

CChapelArr. — Cartulaire des chapellenies d'Arras : BNL, 17737.

CChapelArr, Loisne. — *Cartulaire des chapellenies d'Arras*, anal. A. de Loisne. Arras, 1907.

CCysoing, Coussemaker. — *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Cysoing*, ed. I. de Coussemaker. Lille, 1886.

CDIHFr. — *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France.*

CEterpigny. — Cartulaire de la commanderie d'Éterpigny : BNNouvAcLat, 927. (Formerly Cheltenham, 2972, as recorded in Stein 1277.)

CEvArr, Guesnon. — "Cartulaire de l'évêché d'Arras," anal. A. Guesnon. Acad. d'Arras: *Mémoires*, 2e série, 33 (1902), pp. 165-323. The cartulary itself (Stein 220), formerly at Arras in the *archives de l'évêché*, is no longer accessible.

CFlines, Hautcœur. — *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Flines*, ed. E. Hautcœur. Lille, 1873.

Chavanon. — J. Chavanon, *l'Histoire de l'Artois*. Paris, 1902. [*Bibliothèque des bibliographies critiques*, 16.]

CHAvesnes, Héricourt. — "Titres de la commanderie de Haute-Avesnes," ed. C. d'Héricourt. Acad. d'Arras: *Mémoires*, 2e série, 10 (1878), pp. 7-77.

CLihons. — Cartulaire du prieuré de Lihons: BNL, 5460. (Stein 2155.)

CMarchiennes. — Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Marchiennes, copie par U. Robert: BNNouvAcLat, 1204. (Stein 2327.)

CMarœuil. — "Privilegia et carte monasterii beatorum Amandi et Bertillie de Mareolo": AD PCalais, H non coté. (Stein 2356.)

CMtStQuentin. — Cartulaire-chronique du Mont-Saint-Quentin : AD Somme, 16.H.1. (Stein 2015.)

CNDOurscamp, Peigné-Delacourt. — *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame d'Ourscamp*, ed. Peigné-Delacourt. Amiens, 1865.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

CNDParis, Guérard. — *Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris*, ed. B. Guérard. Paris, 1850. 4 vols.

CNDPDouai, Valois. — N. Valois, "Cartulaires de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame des Prés de Douai," *Le Cabinet historique*, 27 (1881), pp. 40-82.

CSommereux, Loisne. — *Cartulaire de la commanderie des Templiers de Sommereux*, ed. H. de Loisne. Paris, 1924.

CStAmand. — Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand en Pévèle : AD Nord, 12.H.2. (Stein 3292.)

CStAméDouai. — Cartulaire de Saint-Amé de Douai: AD Nord, H. 17027. (Stein 1221.)

CStBarBéthune, Loisne. — *Cartulaire de Saint-Barthélemy de Béthune*, ed. A. de Loisne. Saint-Omer, 1895.

CStBertin, Haigneré. — *Les Chartes de Saint-Bertin*, ed. D. Haigneré. Saint-Omer, 1886-99. 4 vols.

CStJEstrée, Richard. — "Cartulaire et comptes de l'hôpital Saint-Jean-en-l'Estrée," ed. J.-M. Richard. Acad. d'Arras : *Mémoires*, 2e série, 16 (1885), pp. 321-425.

CStLBeauvais, Leblond. — *Cartulaire de la maladrerie de Saint-Lazare de Beauvais*, ed. V. Leblond. Paris, 1922.

CStMartinTournai, Herbomez. — *Chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Martin de Tournai*, ed. A. d'Herbomez. Brussels, 1898-1901. 2 vols.

CStMédardTournai, Vos. — *l'Abbaye de Saint-Médard ou de Saint-Nicolas-des-Prés près Tournai*. Tournai, 1873-79. 3 vols.

CStPierreLille, Hautcœur. — *Cartulaire de l'église collégiale de Saint-Pierre de Lille*, ed. E. Hautcœur. Lille, 1894. 2 vols.

CStVArr, Guesnon. — *Un cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Vaast d'Arras*, anal. A. Guesnon. Paris, 1896. The cartulary itself (Stein 209), formerly at Arras in the *archives de l'évêché*, is no longer accessible.

EM. — *Elliott Monographs in the Romance Languages and Literatures.*

Fanien, HistChArr. — P. Fanien, *Histoire du chapitre d'Arras*. Arras, 1868.

GC. — *Gallia Christiana.*

Guesnon, OrigArr. — A. Guesnon, *Les Origines d'Arras et de ses institutions*. Arras, 1896. 2 vols.

HGF. — *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France.*

HLF. — *Histoire littéraire de la France.*

InvChComptesLille. — [Le Glay], *Inventaire analytique et chronologique des archives de la Chambre des Comptes à Lille*. Lille, 1865. 2 vols.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Lauer, CollMss. — Ph. Lauer, *Collections manuscrites sur l'histoire des provinces de France*. Paris, 1905-11. 2 vols.

Les Olim. — *Les Olim*, ed. A. Beugnot. Paris, 1839-48. 3 vols. [CDIHFr.]

Longnon, DocChampBrie. — A. Longnon, *Documents relatifs au comté de Champagne et de Brie*. Paris, 1903-14. 3 vols.

Mas-Latrie. — Mas-Latrie, *Trésor de chronologie*. Paris, 1889.

Meyer, AlGr. — P. Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française du moyen-âge*. Paris, 1886. 2 vols.

Monasticon belge. — U. Berlière, *Monasticon belge*, Vol. I. Maredsous, 1890-97.

ObProvSens, Molinier. — *Obituaires de la province de Sens*, ed. A. Molinier. Paris, 1902.

Petit-Dutaillis, Louisviii. — Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, *études sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII*. Paris, 1894. [BEHE, 101.]

Poinsignon, HistChamp. — M. Poinsignon, *Histoire générale de la Champagne et de la Brie*. Châlons-sur-Marne, 1896-98. 3 vols.

Sachrow. — K. Sachrow, *Ueber die Vengeance d'Alexandre von Jean le Venelais*. Halle, 1902.

SAPic. — Société des Antiquaires de Picardie.

Stein. — H. Stein, *Bibliographie générale des cartulaires français*. Paris, 1907.

Wauters. — A. Wauters, *Table chronologique des chartes et diplômes imprimés concernant l'hist. de la Belgique*. Brussels, 1866-1912. 11 vols.

PROTAT FRÈRES, IMPRIMEURS, MACON (FRANCE). — MCMXXVI.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

BOUND

DEC 10 1934

UNIV OF MICH.
LIBRARY

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

BOUND

DEC 10 1934

UNIV OF MICH.
LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
3 9015 00898 4463

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

PROTAT FRÈRES, IMPRIMEURS, MACON (FRANCE). — MCMXXVI

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN